

Appianus, of Alexandria  
Civil wars

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# APPIAN.—CIVIL WARS

## BOOK I

TRANSLATED BY

E. F. M. BENECKE

BALLIOL COLLEGE

*THIRD EDITION*

Oxford

B. H. BLACKWELL, BROAD STREET



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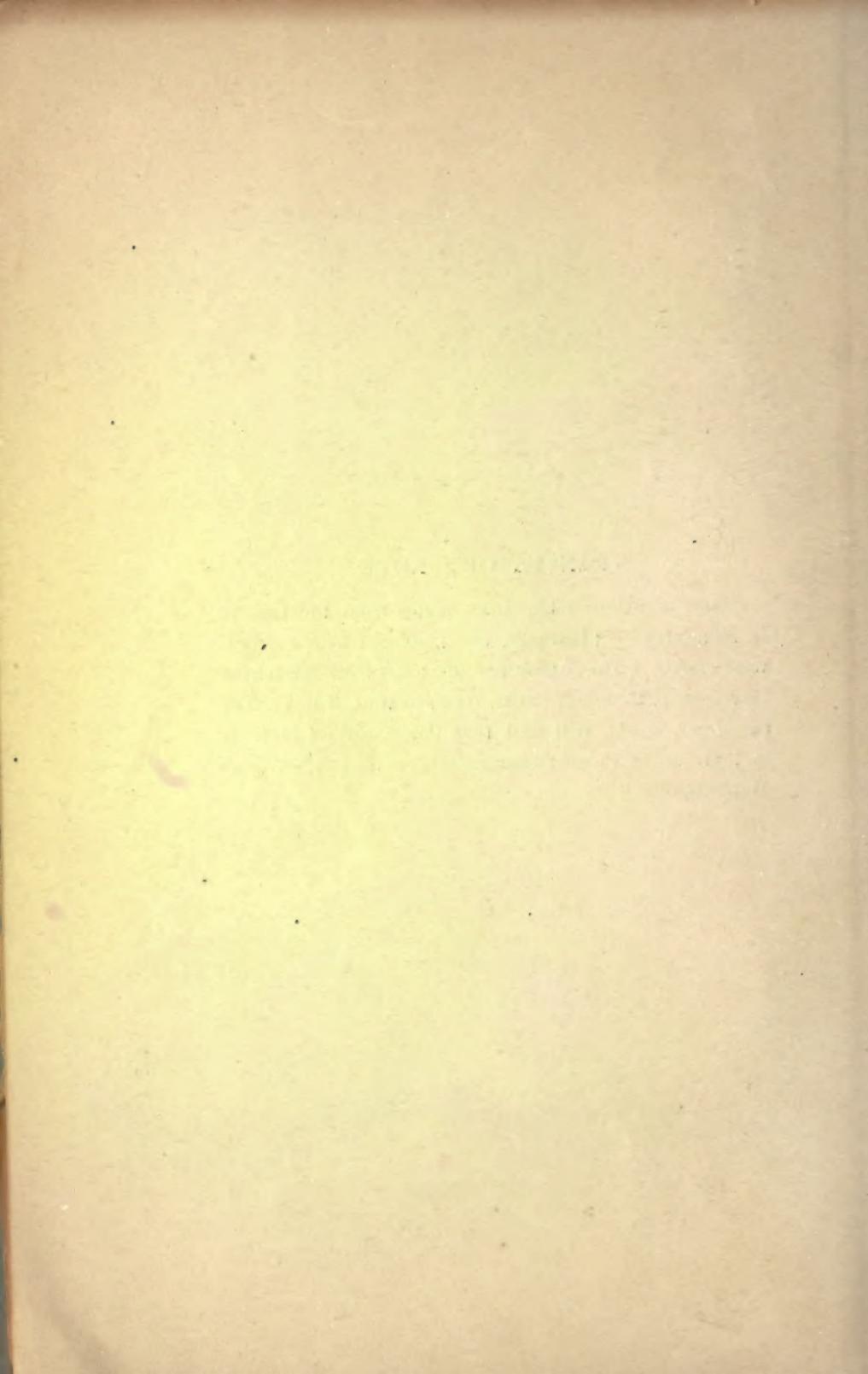
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#### TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

THIS translation has been made from the text of L. Mendelssohn (Teubner, 1881), except where otherwise stated. [Those who use the text of Mr. Strachan-Davidson (Clarendon Press, 1902) or that of P. Viereck (Teubner, 1905), will find that those editors indicate in their notes those passages where they differ from Mendelssohn.]



# APPIAN. CIVIL WARS.

## BOOK I.

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1. THE Senate and the people of Rome had often been at variance with each other about the passing of laws and the cancelling of debts, or the distribution of land, or the election of officers, but there had never been any actual civil war, only dissensions and jealousies without breach of the laws; and they used to settle such differences as arose by mutual concessions which implied the greatest mutual respect. Once indeed one of these struggles began when the people were under arms; but even so they did not have recourse to the weapons that were in their hands, but hastened out to the hill, which gained in consequence the name "Mons Sacer," and even then did nothing violent, but only instituted an office which was to protect them and was called the tribunate, its chief object being to serve as a check on the consuls, who were chosen from among the Senators, so that their control of the government might not be absolute. Now the inevitable result of the circumstances of its institution was that the tribunate became even more hostile towards the consulate and even more jealous of it as time went on, and the Senate and the people proceeded to take sides with the one or the other, each hoping that the success of the party they favoured would provide them with the means of prevailing over their rivals. And in the course of these struggles Marcius, surnamed Coriolanus, was exiled

unjustly and fled to the Volsci and waged war upon his  
2. country. But this is the only instance one could find in which the early party struggles led to war, and even in this isolated case it was brought about by a deserter. And swords were never brought into the assemblies nor was any blood shed in civil strife, till the time of Tib. Gracchus; but when he was tribune and was bringing in laws, not only was he himself killed in a riot, but a number also of his followers, who were crowded together at the Capitol,\* were destroyed in the precincts of the temple. And after this outrage the civil disturbances were continuous, the two parties standing always in open opposition to each other, and often wearing daggers, and the murder in the temples or the assemblies or the streets, of prominent men, whether tribunes or praetors or consuls, or candidates for these offices, or otherwise distinguished, became a matter of regular occurrence, while violent tumults kept following one another in quick succession, and law and justice were regarded with an equally shameful contempt. And the evil assumed vast proportions, till open revolts against the state took place, and great and powerful armies were led against their country by men who had been exiled or condemned, or who were quarrelling with one another about some office or command. Now when things had arrived at this point there were in many cases actual monarchies, and the leaders of the opposing parties assumed absolute power, some refusing any more to disband the armies which had been entrusted to them by the people, others even levying mercenaries on their own account, without the consent of the state, to serve against one another. As often too as either side seized on the city, the opposite party became engaged in a struggle which was nominally against their opponents, but in reality against their native land; for they used

\* *Sin minus*, “ were wandering about the Capitol.”—Cf. cap. xvi.

to make raids as if into an enemy's country and to massacre ruthlessly everyone they met, while others of their opponents were proscribed or banished or had their property confiscated, and some were tortured in a

3. perfectly horrible manner. And odious crimes continued to be rife till, about fifty years after Gracchus, Corn. Sulla, one of these party leaders, healed one evil with another, by declaring himself absolute ruler for an indefinite period. (Now they used to call such absolute rulers dictators, and used only to appoint them in the direst necessity for a period of six months; and even this practice had for a long time past fallen into disusage.) So Sulla made himself perpetual dictator by stress of main force, though he went through the pretence of an election; and yet, when he was tired of power, he had the courage willingly to resign his absolute sovereignty, a thing that seems to me without parallel, and to offer to give satisfaction to any who might accuse him; and then in the sight of all he walked about for a long time in the Forum as a private person, and afterwards went home uninjured. So great was the fear which the spectators still felt for his power, or such their surprise at his abandonment of it, or their respect for his offer to give satisfaction, or their affection for him for other reasons and their conviction that his tyranny had been assumed for the good of the state.]

Thus then under Sulla the disturbances ceased for a short time, which was some compensation for the mis-

4. chief which he had wrought. But after Sulla similar troubles began to be fanned into flame once more, till Gaius Caesar, who had been elected to a position which had for a long time given him absolute power in Gaul, being ordered by the Senate to lay down his command, refused to do so, alleging that, not the Senate, but Pompeius, who was his personal enemy and had command of an army in Italy, was scheming to deprive him of his power; and offered as alternative sugges-

tions either that each of them should keep his army as a safeguard against the enmity of the other, or that Pompeius too should dismiss his troops and submit to the laws as a private person. But when neither of these proposals was accepted, he marched out of Gaul against his country to attack Pompeius. So he invaded Italy, and pursued Pompeius when he fled from it, and defeated him brilliantly in a great battle in Thessaly, and set out in pursuit when he fled from him into Egypt. Then, when Pompeius had been murdered by some Egyptians, Caesar returned to Rome, after making some arrangements about Egypt too and waiting there till he had settled the kingdom. And as he had overthrown and destroyed in open warfare the greatest of the leaders of the opposite party, a man who had earned the surname of *Magnus* by the greatness of his warlike achievements, no one dared to offer him any further opposition, and he too like Sulla was elected to be perpetual dictator. And again the disturbances were beginning to come to a complete end, when he also was murdered in the Senate-house by Brutus and Cassius, who were jealous of the greatness of his power and anxious for the restoration of the old constitution; and this though he had shown himself an excellent ruler and a great friend of the people. At any rate it was the people who showed the greatest sorrow of all at his loss, and they went round the whole of the city to seek for his murderers, and buried his body in the middle of the Forum and built a temple over the spot where the pyre had been, and still offer sacrifices to him as a god.

5. After this the disturbances broke out again and reached an exceptional pitch of violence, and there took place murders and banishments and proscriptions of Senators and Equites in great numbers, and often by both sides at once, the party leaders handing over to each of their opponents his particular enemies, and sparing in this neither friend nor brother, so far had

factional hatred got the better of domestic affection. And at last three men divided the Roman dominion between themselves as if it had been their private property, viz. : Antonius, Lepidus and Octavius,—for so he was originally called, though afterwards, being a relation of Caesar and having been adopted by him in his will, he used to employ the name of Caesar instead of his own. And when, after a short interval, these three attacked one another, as was only natural, about the division they had made, Caesar, who was the cleverest of the three and had most knowledge of the world, first of all deprived Lepidus of Libya, which had fallen to his share, and afterwards, by the battle of Actium, Antonius of his dominions, which reached from Syria to the Ionian Gulf. And after these achievements, which seemed the greatest that had ever been accomplished and threw every one into a state of amazement, he sailed against Egypt and captured that also, which up till then had been a separate kingdom for a very long time and had been very powerful ever since the time of Alexander, and was the only part of the present Roman dominions which still remained independent. No sooner therefore had he finished these undertakings than he was looked upon by the Romans while still living as a god, the first time that this had ever been done, and was called by them Augustus ; and he declared himself, like Gaius, and with even greater powers than Gaius, ruler of his country and of all the nations subject to it, having no longer any need of an appointment or an election or a disguise. And when his rule had lasted for a long time and become firmly established, being fortunate in everything and an object of dread, he established a dynasty, and left to his successors a power equal to his own.

6. Thus, then, after various civil disturbances, the Roman constitution was peacefully settled once more under a monarchy ; and the events which led to this

I have brought together and described,—events which may justly excite the wonder of those who care to see instances of measureless ambition and desperate love of power and unwearied determination and crime and misery of every kind. But my chief reason for writing this history is that it was necessary by way of prelude to my history of Egypt, for it precedes the latter and comes to a close when that begins; for it was through this civil war that Egypt was conquered, Cleopatra having taken the side of Antonius. Now, owing to its bulk, my work has been divided, this book containing the events from Sempronius Gracchus up to Corn. Sulla, and the next those which occurred up to the death of C. Caesar; while the rest of the books of the Civil War describe the operations of the Triumviri against one another and against Rome, till that event which was at once the end of the civil wars and the crowning point of them, the battle fought at Actium by Caesar against the combined forces of Antonius and Cleopatra; from which point my history of Egypt will commence.

7. The Romans, as they gradually obtained possession of Italy by war, used to take a part of the land and build towns on it, or else, if the towns were already there, to choose colonists from among themselves to occupy them. These towns they used to think would act as fortified posts; while as for the land which they on each occasion captured, if it was cultivated, they would at once distribute it or sell or let it to the colonists, while, if it was lying fallow at the time owing to the war, which, as a matter of fact, was most commonly the case, then they would not trouble to divide it up, but would issue a proclamation to the effect that any one who wished might cultivate it on condition of paying certain fixed rates on the yearly produce, a tenth part in the case of land that was sown, and a fifth part in the case of that which was planted. Those too who fed stock on the land had certain charges fixed both

for flocks and herds. This they used to do to increase the Italian population, which they saw to be particularly hardy, in order that they might have allies near home; but the result was just the reverse. For the rich got possession of the greater part of this undistributed land, and being emboldened by the lapse of time to think that they would never any more be deprived of it, secured also all the small properties belonging to poor men, whether in their neighbourhood or elsewhere, in some cases persuading the owners to sell them, in others taking them by force, and thus became farmers of whole districts rather than of mere estates. And they employed slaves as cultivators and shepherds, for free men would have been continually being taken away from their farming operations to serve in war; and this form of property also brought them in large profits owing to the fecundity of the slaves, who went on increasing in numbers without hindrance as they were not liable to serve. Consequently, while the nobles used to grow extremely wealthy, and the whole country became filled with a race born in slavery, the Italians became few in number and had few children, being worn out by poverty and taxation and warfare. And even when they were free from military service they were compelled to be idle, for the land was occupied by the rich, who used slaves rather than free men to farm it for them.

8. And the people began to grow uneasy at this, thinking that they would no longer be able to obtain efficient allies from Italy and fearing that their supremacy might be endangered by this great number of slaves. But they could not arrive at any solution, for they saw that it would not be easy nor altogether just to deprive such important men of such large holdings of land which had been in their possession so long, with all the plantations and buildings and improvements which they had themselves made. But at last the tribunes

*Public Law*

brought in a law which was with difficulty passed, to the effect that no one might hold more than five hundred iugera of this public land, nor feed on it more than one hundred large head of cattle or five hundred small. They ordained besides that every owner must appoint a certain number of free men to act as overseers and give an account. They then drew up a law to this effect, swore to it, and fixed a penalty for its infringement, thinking that the land which it set free would at once be sold in small lots to the poor. But no one cared at all for the laws or for their oaths, for even those few who professed to observe them merely divided the land for the sake of appearances among their own connections, while the majority disregarded them entirely. And this went on till the time of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, a man of noble birth and high ambition and a most powerful speaker, all which facts combined to make him very well-known to everyone. He, when tribune, made a pathetic speech about the merits of the Italians, dwelling on their bravery and their kinship with the Romans, and pointing out how they were being gradually reduced to want and impotence without even a hope of amendment. He then went on to abuse the slaves as being unserviceable for war and never faithful to their masters, referring to the recent trouble which had befallen the masters in Sicily at the hands of their slaves,—for there too the latter had increased in number owing to the exigencies of farm-labour,—and the difficulty and length of the war which the Romans had been compelled to wage against them, how it had extended over a long period and had been attended by dangerous fluctuations of fortune. And after this speech he renewed the law of which we have spoken above, forbidding anyone's holding more than five hundred iugera. As an addition however to the old law he allowed the sons of owners to hold half this amount; but the rest of the land was to

be distributed among the poor by three elected commissioners, who were to be changed every year.

10. This last enactment particularly troubled the rich, since they were now no longer able, owing to the appointment of commissioners, to disregard the law as they had previously done, or to buy any part of the land from those to whom it was allotted; for Gracchus had foreseen this too, and had inserted a clause declaring that it might not be sold. So, coming together in groups, they began to make pitiful representations to the poor, pointing out how longstanding were the improvements and the plantations and the buildings that they had made, and asking whether, as some of them had paid their neighbours a price for this land, they were to lose their money as well; others again pointed out that the graves of their fathers were on the land, or that they had inherited it as part of the paternal estate, and others that they had invested their wives' dowries in it, or had given such land as dowry to their children. And the creditors began to call attention to their loans which had been made on this security, and everywhere there was general disorder, distress and vexation. But the poor on their side began to complain of how they had been reduced from prosperity to the direst want, and had consequently ceased to have children owing to their inability to support a family; and they kept recounting the many campaigns in which they had served to gain this land, and declared that it would be infamous if they were deprived of their share in the profits. At the same time too they expressed their indignation at the conduct of the rich in preferring slaves to free men and citizens and soldiers, when slaves as a race were faithless and always hostile, and for this reason could not be allowed to serve in war. Such then were the complaints and accusations which the two sides made against one another; and there was added to the disputants a further number of people, consisting of all those who

had an interest in this land either as belonging to colonies or municipia or otherwise; for these, having similar fears, kept crowding up to Rome and mingling with both parties. And gaining courage by reason of their numbers, both sides began to grow violent and to stir up countless disorders while waiting for the day on which the law was to be confirmed, the one party being determined that it should on no account be allowed to pass, while the other was equally determined that it must be passed at all costs. Both sides too were animated by party-spirit no less than by need; and so they made their preparations against one another for the decisive day.

11. The intention of Gracchus in making his proposals was not to enrich the poor but to increase the population, and, carried away by the thought of the advantages which would result therefrom, since nothing greater or better than this could in his opinion possibly happen to Italy, he did not so much as consider the difficulties surrounding the undertaking. So when the day of voting arrived, he made a long speech to introduce his bill, in which, after many other plausible arguments at great length, he asked finally whether it were not just to distribute public property among the public, and whether a citizen had not always a better claim to consideration than a slave, and whether a soldier were not always more useful than a man who could not fight, and a fellow-countryman more friendly to the people than a stranger. Then, without developing his comparison, for it seemed to him beneath the dignity of his hearers, he returned once more to the hopes and fears of his country, detailing how the Romans were masters of an immense tract of country by right of conquest, and how they hoped to secure the rest of the inhabitable world, but had now arrived at a moment which was critical for all their fortunes; for they had it in their power either by increasing their population to add to their possessions

what remained, or through weakness or jealousy to lose even what they had at the hands of their enemies. And while expatiating on the glory and the profit of the former of these alternatives, and the danger and risk of the latter, he proceeded to call on the rich to consider this and to give up these lands as a free gift, if need be, of their own accord, to men who could bring up children, with a view to the future benefit of their country. They must not, he said, because of their differences in small matters, overlook the greater; while surely it was sufficient compensation for the improvements they had made that each of them should as a privilege be guaranteed the perpetual possession without payment of 500 iugera, and half that amount in addition for each of their children if they had any. Then, after he had by the use of these and many similar arguments roused the poor and all such of the other citizens as could be influenced by reason rather than love of gain, he

12. gave orders to his clerk to read the law. Whereupon M. Octavius, another tribune, who had been set up by the propertied class to veto the proceedings, gave orders to the clerk to be silent; for of two magistrates at Rome the one who vetoed a measure always gained his point. On that occasion then Gracchus, after violently abusing his colleague, postponed the matter to the next day of meeting, [but when that day came] he got together a force sufficient to overpower Octavius even if he should prove intractable, and proceeded to order the clerk with threats to read the law to the people. Thereupon he began to read, but when Octavius put in his veto he stopped. But after the tribunes had abused one another, as the people were beginning to grow very turbulent, the nobles asked the tribunes to refer their difference to the Senate. And Gracchus, catching eagerly at the suggestion, for he thought that his law could not fail to please every sensible man, set out hurriedly for the Senate-house. But there, as he had no crowd to

back him, he was insulted by the rich, so he ran out into the Forum again and declared that he intended on the next day of assembly to put the law to the vote and also to bring forward a proposition as to Octavius' tenure of office, whether it were permissible for a tribune to retain his office if he persisted in thwarting the people. And so he actually did; for when Octavius, nothing daunted, once more was about to put in his veto, Gracchus proceeded to give precedence to the vote concerning him. And when the first tribe had given its vote to the effect that Octavius should resign his office, Gracchus turned to him and begged him to relent. But when he refused, then Gracchus brought up the other tribes. There were at that time 35 tribes, and when the first 17 had angrily given a unanimous vote, and the 18th was on the point of giving the decisive one, then Gracchus once more, in the sight of the people, earnestly entreated Octavius, who was now in very great danger, not to ruin an undertaking which was most just and of the greatest service to the whole of Italy, nor to thwart the people in a matter for which they were so eager, for it was his duty as tribune to yield to them, even against his own predilections, in a matter which they ardently desired, nor again ought his condemnation and loss of office to be matters of indifference to him. And when he had said this, after calling the gods to witness that it was against his will that he was degrading a colleague, as he could not move him, he proceeded to put the matter to the vote. Thereupon Octavius at once became a private person, and

13. slipped away and escaped, and Q. Mummius was elected tribune in his stead, and the agrarian law was passed. The first commissioners elected for distributing the land were Gracchus himself, who had passed the law, his brother who bore the same name, and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, the people being even still very much afraid that the provisions of the law would never

be actually carried out unless Gracchus and his whole family had the control of them. And Gracchus, exulting in the triumph of his law, was accompanied to his house by the multitude, who regarded him as the founder not of one city or of one race but of all the races of Italy. After this the successful party dispersed gradually back to the country, whence they had come for the purpose of this law, whilst those who had been worsted stayed angrily behind uttering threats that as soon as Gracchus became a private person he would be sorry that he had outraged a sacred and inviolable office, and introduced such an occasion of discord into Italy.

14. And now it was summer and the tribunes for the following year had to be elected. And as the day of voting drew near, the rich made no secret of their efforts to secure the appointment of Gracchus' particular enemies. He therefore, when the danger was becoming imminent, fearing what would happen to him if he were not elected tribune for the following year also, tried to call together his supporters out of the country to vote for him. But as they could not spare the time because of the harvest, he was compelled owing to the short interval remaining before the election to have recourse to the people in the city; so he went round to them all separately, begging them to elect him tribune for the following year, as it was on their account that he was in danger. And on the day of the election, the two first tribes voted for Gracchus; but the rich objected that it was unconstitutional for a man to hold the tribunate two years in succession. Then when the tribune Rubrius, who had been chosen by lot to be president of that assembly, was doubtful what to decide, Mummius, who had been appointed tribune instead of Octavius, suggested that Rubrius should hand over to him the presidency of that assembly. And he did so, but the other tribunes demanded that lots should be cast afresh for the presi-

dency; for now that Rubrius had resigned the office to which he was entitled, the right of holding it returned to all of them. When therefore a violent altercation had arisen about this too, and Gracchus was in a minority, he postponed the election to the following day, and having no longer any hope, dressed himself in black, though still tribune, and spent the rest of the day leading his son about the Forum, stopping to talk with everyone and to represent that he was in danger of immediate destruction at the hands of his enemies.

15. And the poor were filled with pity and began to reflect seriously both about their own position, (for they saw that they were no longer to have equal political rights with the rich, but were to be forced to be their slaves), and also about his, deplored the fact that he should be in such fear and suffer so much for their sakes. So they all accompanied him with lamentations to his house, and bade him have courage for the following day. Then Gracchus too regained confidence, and having gathered together his adherents while it was still night and shown them a sign in case they should be compelled to fight, he occupied the temple on the Capitol, where the election was to take place, and the middle of the place of assembly. And being irritated by the tribunes and the rich, who refused to allow him to stand for election, he gave the sign. Then the conspirators raised a sudden shout, and from that moment a battle began, and some of Gracchus' party formed as it were a body-guard to defend him, while others, girding themselves with their cloaks, snatched the rods and staves from the hands of the attendants, and breaking them up began with them to drive the rich from the assembly with such tumult and bloodshed that the tribunes fled away in fear and the priests shut the temple. And the crowd ran and fled in disorder, and all sorts of vague rumours were spread, some saying that Gracchus was deposing the other tribunes from

their office, as he had deposed Octavius, (for as they were nowhere to be seen, this seemed the natural conclusion,) others that he was appointing himself without election

16. as tribune for the ensuing year. While all this was going on, the Senate came together in the temple of Fides. Now it seems to me wonderful that though they had so often been rescued from similar dangers by resorting to an absolute ruler, they did not then so much as think of a dictator, and though such appointments had proved most useful in former times, the majority did not in the least remember this either then or subsequently. The Senate, after passing such resolutions as they did, set out to go up into the Capitol; and the Pontifex Maximus, Corn. Scipio Nasica, led the way for them, crying in a loud voice that those who wished to save their country should follow him; and he drew the border of his garment up to his face, either to get more to follow him by displaying the badge of his rank, or meaning it to be, like a helmet, a sign of war to those who saw it, or wishing to hide his head from the gods because of what he meant to do. And as he came up to the temple and rushed in upon the followers of Gracchus, they gave way before him, as was only natural, out of respect for his high rank, and because they saw the Senate rushing in together with him. But the Senators, seizing the clubs out of the hands of their opponents, and breaking up the benches and the other furniture which had been brought together for the purposes of the assembly, began to belabour them and pursue them and drive them down over the cliffs. And in this tumult many of the followers of Gracchus perished, and Gracchus himself being unable to escape from the temple\* was killed by the doors near the statues of the kings. And all the bodies were thrown during the night into the stream of the Tiber.

\* *Sin minus*, “ who was wandering about the temple.” Cf. cap. ii.

17. Thus then was Gracchus, the son of that Gracchus who had been twice consul, and of Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio who broke the power of Carthage, murdered in the Capitol while still tribune, on account of an excellent scheme, which he tried to promote by violent measures. And this was the first crime which took place in the assembly, but afterwards similar events continued to occur at frequent intervals. Now the feeling in the city at the death of Gracchus was divided, some being sorry at the event and others glad, the one party pitying themselves and him, considering that they were no longer subject to a constitution but to violence and force, and the other thinking that they had entirely accomplished the objects which they had had in view.

Now all this took place while Aristonicus was fighting with the Romans about the sovereignty of Asia.

18. After the murder of Gracchus and the death of Appius Claudius, there were appointed in their stead as colleagues of the younger Gracchus on the commission for distributing the lands, Fulvius Flaccus and Papirius Carbo. And these, as the owners continued to neglect to register their estates, proceeded to give notice that accusers might inform against them. Whereupon there was at once a large number of complicated law-suits, for in the case of every piece of land, every neighbouring piece which had been sold or distributed among the allies had to be examined as to how it had been sold or distributed, so as to determine the dimensions of the piece in question, and this too though many of the owners no longer possessed either the deeds of sale or the documents of allotment, and even such as could be found were ambiguous. And when the land began to be measured out, some owners were transferred from estates with plantations and farm-buildings to those which had none, and others again from cultivated land to barren, or to lakes or marshes, as they had never properly made out their claims to their estates, looking

upon them as the spoils of war. Again, the proclamation, giving permission to anyone who wished to cultivate the undistributed land, had induced many who were occupying land bordering upon it to assimilate the appearance of the two, and the lapse of time had made changes on all sides. And the injustice done by the rich, though it was great, was hard to trace. So then all that was accomplished was to bring about a general disturbance of all the inhabitants who were being transferred and transplanted on to different estates.

19. These grievances then, which were aggravated by the hasty dealing of the commissioners, proved intolerable to the Italians, who therefore asked Corn. Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, to be their champion against the wrongs under which they were suffering. And he, as he had found them most willing soldiers in his wars, did not like to refuse them; so he came into the Senate-house, and while abstaining on account of the people from openly blaming the law of Gracchus, yet enumerated its inconveniences and asked that the decision of cases should be transferred from the commissioners, who did not enjoy the confidence of litigants, to some other body. This argument, which appeared to be eminently reasonable, was of the greatest effect in persuading the Senators; and so jurisdiction in the matter was handed over to Tuditanus who was consul. But he, when he had begun the business and seen its difficulties, set out to fight against the Illyrians, using this as a pretext for not holding a court; while the land-commissioners had nothing to do, as no one came to them for decisions. And from this time onwards the people began to hate Scipio and be angry with him, when they saw that though they had in former times shown such violent love for him, and often opposed the nobles on his behalf, and twice elected him consul against the law, he was now championing the Italians against them. And as soon as Scipio's personal enemies perceived

this, they began to cry out that he was steadfastly determined to repeal the law of Gracchus, and meant to shed much blood in fighting for this object. When the people heard this they took alarm, till one morning Scipio, having put by his side, the evening before, the tablets on which he intended during the night to write his speech to the people, was found dead without a wound. His death was either due to Cornelia, the mother of Gracchus, who, with a view to prevent the repeal of the law of Gracchus, had plotted this with her daughter Sempronia, the wife of Scipio (for she, on account of her ugliness and sterility, was neither beloved by her husband nor fond of him); or else, as some think, he killed himself, knowing that he would not be able to fulfil what he had promised. Some however assert that slaves of his, when tortured, declared that strangers broke in by night through the back of the house and smothered him, and that those who knew this did not dare to publish it because the people were still angry with Scipio and pleased at his death.

So Scipio died and was not even accorded a public funeral, in spite of his eminent services as a general; so prone is the anger of the moment to prevail over gratitude for the past. And this event, in spite of its importance, occurred merely as an episode in the sedition of the Gracchi. Thus then, in spite of every effort, the owners, using all manner of pretexts, were still successful in putting off the distribution of the land indefinitely. Whereupon some began to suggest that all the allies, from whom the chief opposition in the matter of the land came, should be admitted as Roman citizens, expecting that this greater privilege would render them readier to submit about the land. Now the Italians would gladly have accepted this, preferring the franchise to their estates; and Fulvius Flaccus, who was at once consul and land-commissioner, was most eager to co-operate with them in this endeavour.

But the Senate were horrified at the idea that their subjects should be given equal political rights with themselves.

So then this attempt came to nothing, and the people, having so long hoped in vain for the land, began to lose heart. And being in this condition they were delighted when C. Gracchus, the younger brother of Gracchus the legislator, who had been a commissioner for distributing the land, appeared as candidate for the tribunate. He had kept quiet for a long time after his brother's death; but, as many of those in the Senate despised him, he offered himself for the tribunate. And when he had been elected by a brilliant majority, he at once began to take measures against the Senate, granting a certain fixed allowance of corn monthly to every citizen out of the public funds, a distribution which had never been previously made. The result was that he at once by this one measure, in which Fulvius Flaccus acted in concert with him, brought over the people to his side. Immediately after this he was chosen tribune for the following year; for in the meanwhile a law had been passed that, if at the elections there were not sufficient nominations for the tribunate, the people might elect anyone they chose.

22. Thus then did C. Gracchus enter upon the office of tribune for a second year and, having already got the people in his pay, he set about gaining the support of the Equites, who are midway in rank between the Senate and the common people, by another measure of the following nature. The law-courts had fallen into disrepute owing to bribery; he therefore proposed to transfer the power of serving on juries from the Senate to the Equites, reproaching the former especially with the recent cases in which Aurelius Cotta and Salinator and, besides these, M'. Aquilius the conqueror of Asia, had notoriously gained their acquittals by bribery; for the ambassadors who had been sent to accuse them

were still in Rome, and were going about everywhere spreading this scandal. And it was mainly shame at this which induced the Senate to yield to the bill; and the people confirmed it. Thus then was the power of serving on juries transferred from the Senate to the Equites; and they say that as soon as the law was passed Gracchus exclaimed that he had overthrown the Senate at one blow, the truth of which saying became still clearer when the matter came to be put into practice. For the fact that the Equites had the power of passing sentences on Romans and all Italians and on the Senators themselves to any extent, whether of fines or disfranchisement or banishment, raised them practically into the position of rulers over the whole state\* and made the Senators as it were their subjects. And as the Equites supported the tribunes when votes were required, and received from them in return whatever they wished, they grew to be a standing menace to the Senate. In fact, things rapidly came to a point at which the authority of the state changed hands, the Senate retaining merely the appearance, while the Equites had the reality of power. For as time went on the latter not only tyrannised over the Senators in the law-courts, but openly insulted them. They adopted the Senators' system of bribery, and no sooner had they too experienced the pleasures of unlimited gains than they proceeded to strive after them to a greater extent and more shamelessly than had ever been done before. And they used to set up suborned accusers against the rich and succeeded in abolishing entirely the trials for bribery, standing by one another and using violence, so that this form of prosecution entirely died out; and Gracchus' law about the juries furnished for a long time no less cause for dissension than any law that had gone before it.

\* πάντων πρὸ αὐτῶν Mendelssohn dubie.

**23.** And besides this Gracchus set about making great roads in Italy, providing thereby a body of contractors and skilled labourers who were under his control and ready to do whatever he bade them; and he proposed numerous colonies. He claimed moreover for the Latins all the rights of the Romans, maintaining that the Senate could not decently withhold these privileges from their kinsmen; and he proposed to give the right of voting in the Roman assemblies from that time onward to the rest of the allies who had not the franchise, so that he might have these too to support him when his proposals were put to the vote. At this the Senate became very much alarmed, and ordered the consuls to decree that no one who was not a citizen might be in Rome, or come within 40 stades of it, during the forthcoming voting on these laws. And they induced Livius Drusus, one of the other tribunes, to veto the laws of Gracchus, without telling the people why; for the tribune who vetoed was allowed to refuse to give his reasons. And they further gave him power to curry favour with the people by proposing 12 colonies; and this delighted the people so much that they despised the proposals of Gracchus.

**24.** Gracchus therefore, having fallen out of the popular favour, sailed to Libya, accompanied by Fulvius Flaccus, who after his consulship had been elected as Gracchus' colleague in the tribunate to aid in the furtherance of his schemes; for a colony having been voted in Libya owing to its reputed fertility, these two had been purposely chosen to organise it, so that the Senate might in their absence have a little rest from their agitation. They then proceeded to mark the boundaries for the new colony on the spot where Carthage had formerly stood, taking no account of the fact that when Scipio destroyed the city he cursed the site and declared that it should for ever be pasture for sheep. And they marked the boundaries for a population of 6000 instead of the smaller number mentioned in the law, hoping that this too

might gain them favour with the people. And when they were returned to Rome they set to work to collect the 6000 from the whole of Italy. But those who were still engaged in Libya in marking the boundaries sent to say that wolves had torn up and scattered the marks set up by Gracchus and Fulvius, and as the augurs thought this an ill omen for the colony, the Senate proceeded to decree an assembly in which it purposed to repeal the law relating to this colony. But when Gracchus and Fulvius saw that they were to be thwarted in this too, they became like madmen and persisted in declaring that the story of the wolves was a lie invented by the Senate. And the boldest of the people decided to support them, and went with daggers to the Capitol, where the assembly about the colony was to be held.

**25.** Now when the people had already assembled, and Fulvius was beginning to address them on the subject in hand, Gracchus set out to go up to the Capitol, guarded by his accomplices. But being troubled by the consciousness of his revolutionary schemes, he avoided the crowd in the assembly and turned aside into the portico, where he began to walk up and down, waiting for what might happen. And while he was in this state of unrest, he was seen by one of the people, called Antyllus, who was sacrificing in the portico; and this man, laying his hand on him, whether because he had heard or suspected something or whatever it may have been that moved him to speak, begged Gracchus to spare his country. Then Gracchus was yet further startled, and fearing that he was discovered, looked at him fiercely; and one of those standing by, without any signal having been raised or any command given, judging merely from the fierceness of the look which Gracchus fixed on the man that the time had already come, and thinking to gain favour with his leader by being the first to strike a blow, drew his dagger and killed Antyllus. And a cry having been raised at the sight of a dead body in the midst,

everyone began to rush out of the temple for fear of similar violence. Then Gracchus, running into the Forum, tried to give an explanation of what had happened to the people there; but when no one would so much as suffer him to approach, but everyone avoided him as polluted, then Gracchus and Flaccus, not knowing what to do, and having lost the right moment for doing what they had been plotting owing to the attempt having been made too soon,\* set off running to their houses, and their accomplices came together to them there, while the rest of the crowd proceeded to occupy the Forum in advance at midnight already, showing thereby that they expected something serious to happen. And Opimius, the consul who was in Rome, gave orders for a body of men to muster at the Capitol under arms as soon as it was day, and proceeded to call together the Senate by means of heralds, while he himself decided to watch what would happen, taking up a central position in the temple of Castor and Pollux.

**26.** This then being the state of affairs, the Senate proceeded to summon Gracchus and Flaccus from their houses to the Senate-house to give an explanation. But they rushed out armed on to the Aventine hill, hoping that if they should have first occupied this position, the Senate would give them more favourable terms. And as they ran along they called on the slaves to come out, offering them their liberty; but none of these listened to them. They however, with such followers as they had, seized the temple of Diana and began to fortify it, sending Quintus, the son of Flaccus, to the Senate, asking for a truce and an amnesty. But the Senate sent them word that they must lay down their arms and then come to the Senate-house and say what they wished: if they refused to do this, they were not to send any further messenger. And when they had again

\* διὰ τὸ φθόνον Schweighäuser.

sent Quintus, Opimius the consul arrested him, considering that his previous declaration had deprived him of the rights of an ambassador, and proceeded to send the armed men against Gracchus' party. Then Gracchus fled by the wooden bridge across the river into a certain grove, accompanied by a single slave, whom he caused to kill him when he was on the point of being captured. And Flaccus fled into the workshop of a friend of his, but when the pursuers, not knowing the house, threatened to burn down the whole street, he that had sheltered him, not wishing to betray a suppliant himself, ordered some one else to do so; and Flaccus was taken and killed. The heads of Gracchus and Flaccus were brought to Opimius, who gave the bearers their weight in gold for them; and the people set to plundering their houses, while Opimius arrested their confederates and, throwing them into prison, ordered them to be strangled; but Quintus, the son of Flaccus, he allowed to die in what manner he pleased. Then he purified the city after the bloodshed; and the Senate ordered him also to erect a temple of Concord in the Forum.

27. This then was the end of the revolution of the younger Gracchus; and not long afterwards a law was passed, allowing the owners of the land in dispute to sell it; for this too had been forbidden ever since the time of the elder Gracchus. And immediately the rich began to buy it up from the poor or to force them to part with it, using the new law at a pretext. Thus things became even worse for the poor, till the tribune Spurius Thorius introduced a bill by which it was provided that the land should no longer be distributed but should remain with its present owners, who were to pay rent for it to the people, the money thus gained being distributed among them. This afforded some consolation to the poor because of the distributions, but was of no service for increasing the population. But

when once the law of Gracchus, which had shown itself to be excellent and of the greatest value, if only it could have been carried out, had been abrogated by these sophistries, it was not long before another tribune repealed the law about the rents also, so that the people lost absolutely everything. Hence they became still less able to furnish citizens and soldiers, being deprived alike of rent for the land and of distributions and of laws on their behalf, after the fifteen years which since the legislation of Gracchus they had wasted in striving for all this.

28. About the same time Scipio when consul destroyed the theatre begun by L. Cassius, which was by this time nearly finished, fearing that this too might be the cause of fresh disturbances, or thinking perhaps that it was not desirable that the Romans should become accustomed to any of the luxuries of the Greeks. And the censor Q. Caecilius Metellus tried to degrade Glaucia, who was a Senator, and Apuleius Saturninus, who had been tribune, from their rank, owing to their shameful manner of life, but was not able to do so as his colleague failed to support him. Shortly afterwards therefore Saturninus, with a view to taking vengeance on Metellus, offered himself as tribune for the second time, choosing a moment when Glaucia was praetor and had charge of the tribunical elections. But in spite of this, Nonius, a well-known man, who boldly opposed Saturninus and abused Glaucia, was elected tribune. And Glaucia and Saturninus fearing that he would punish them now that he was tribune, at once raised a tumult and sent a body of men against him while he was leaving the assembly; and they killed him in an inn where he had taken refuge. But when this outrage filled everyone with pity and indignation, as soon as it was day the followers of Glaucia elected Saturninus tribune before the people had come together. Thus the murder of Nonius was hushed

up owing to the fact that Saturninus had become  
29. tribune, no one daring any longer to accuse him. And they furthermore banished Metellus, taking to help them C. Marius, at this time consul for the sixth time, who was a secret enemy of Metellus. And they all played into one another's hands in the following manner: Saturninus proceeded to bring in a bill to distribute all the land which had been occupied, in the country which the Romans now call Gaul, by the Cimbri, a Celtic tribe; for Marius, when he drove out that tribe shortly before, seized this land for the Romans, declaring that it no longer belonged to the Gauls. And an additional provision was that, if the law should be passed by the people, the Senate should swear within five days to obey it, and that anyone who refused to do so should cease to be a Senator and should pay a fine of 20 talents to the people. By this means they expected to take vengeance on various of their opponents and especially on Metellus, who would not be likely owing to his high spirit to condescend to take the oath. Such then was the law, and Saturninus proceeded to fix a day for the voting on it, sending round men to communicate this to the people in the country; for it was on them, as old soldiers of Marius, that they were principally depending, seeing that the people at Rome were showing signs of displeasure at the bill, because  
30. of the advantage which it gave to the Italians. But on the day of the voting a riot took place, and when the tribunes who tried to veto the laws were roughly handled by Saturninus, they leaped down from the rostrum, and the city crowd began to cry out that there had been a clap of thunder during the assembly; and when such a thing happens the Romans may not pass any more laws on that day. But when the adherents of Saturninus still insisted, the men of the city girded up their cloaks and snatching up any clubs which they could find, dispersed the country people. These how-

ever were rallied by Saturninus, and they too armed themselves with clubs and set upon the city people, and having overcome them, they passed the law. No sooner was it passed than Marius as consul proceeded to lay it before the Senate with a view to taking their opinions as to the oath. And since he knew that Metellus was strong-willed and obstinate in maintaining his views and in adhering to whatever he had previously said, by way of stratagem he expressed his own opinion first, and said that he personally would never consent to take this oath. When Metellus too had concurred with this, and the rest had expressed their approbation of these two speakers, Marius dismissed the Senate. Then on the fifth day, which was the last day on which the law allowed the oath to be taken, about the tenth hour Marius called them hastily together and said that he was afraid of the people as they were set upon this law, but he saw a way of escape by means of the following sophistry. He would swear, he said, to obey this law, in so far as it was a law, and thus for the present they would disperse the crowds from the country who were still waiting about, while afterwards it would not be difficult to show that a law passed contrary to the constitution, by violence, and after attention had been

**31.** called to a clap of thunder, was not a law at all. As soon as he had said this, without waiting for any decision, while everyone was still sitting silent out of astonishment at the stratagem and the amount of time that had been wasted, without giving them any opportunity for reflection, he rose up and went to the temple of Saturn, where the quaestors had to administer the oath, and swore with his own friends first of all. Then the rest too proceeded to swear, each fearing for himself. But Metellus alone refused to swear, maintaining fearlessly his original position. Then immediately on the next day Saturninus sent his attendant to drag him out of the Senate-house. But when the other

tribunes proceeded to defend him, Glaucia and Saturninus ran out to the country people, and declared that they would never get the land nor would the law be enforced, until Metellus had been banished. And they proceeded to draw up a decree of banishment against him, ordering the consuls to proclaim that no one might give Metellus fire or water or shelter, and appointing a day on which this decree was to be confirmed. The city people were terribly enraged at this, and guarded Metellus wherever he went, armed with daggers; but he took leave of them, and thanking them for their good intentions, said that he would not permit his country to incur any danger on his behalf. And having said this, he left the city secretly. Then Saturninus proceeded to ratify the decree, and Marius made it public.

**32.** Thus then was Metellus, a man of the highest reputation, driven into exile; and after this Saturninus became tribune for the third time. And one of his colleagues was a man who was supposed to be a runaway slave, who however described himself as a son of the elder Gracchus; and the people had supported him at the election out of their love for Gracchus. Then when the consular elections took place, M. Antonius was chosen for the one post without opposition, while for the other there was a contest between this same Glaucia and Memmius. But as Memmius had by far the better reputation, Glaucia was afraid of him, and so he and Saturninus sent a body of men armed with clubs to attack him in the midst of the election, and they beat him to death in the sight of all. Then the assembly was broken up in confusion, there being no longer any respect for the laws or for the courts of justice or for anything. And the people, being enraged, on the next day ran together in anger, meaning to kill Saturninus. But he, having got together another crowd out of the country, in conjunction with Glaucia and C. Saufeius,

one of the quaestors, seized the Capitol. And when the Senate had passed sentence of death upon them, Marius was at last compelled, in spite of his opposition, to arm a body of men; but while he was still delaying, others proceeded to cut off the running water from the temple. Then Saufeius, being in danger of perishing with thirst, wished to set fire to the temple, but Glaucia and Saturninus, expecting that Marius would stand by them, surrendered, and after they had done so, Saufeius did the same. Now Marius, when everyone demanded their immediate execution, shut them up in the Senate-house, intending, as he said, to proceed in a more regular manner. But the people, thinking this was merely a pretext, set to work to pull off the tiles from the Senate-house, and to pelt Saturninus and his associates till they had killed them,—a quaestor and a tribune and a

33. praetor, still clothed in the dress of their offices. And a large number more perished in this revolution, among them another tribune, the one who was supposed to be the son of Gracchus, on the first day of his assuming the tribunate. For neither freedom, nor popular government, nor law, nor reputation, nor office, was any longer any protection to anyone; inasmuch as even the tribunes who had been originally appointed to hinder crimes and to protect the people, and whose office was sacred and inviolable, both took part in such outrages and suffered from them. Now when Saturninus and his adherents had been killed, the Senate and the people were loud in favour of recalling Metellus, but the tribune P. Furius, who was not even the son of a free citizen but only of a freed-man, boldly withstood them, and not even when Metellus, the son of the exile, entreated him publicly and fell at his feet with tears, was he moved from his purpose. In consequence of this spectacle the son of Metellus was for the future surnamed Pius, while when in the following year Furius was called before the courts by the tribune C. Canuleius to answer for his

conduct on this occasion, the people tore him to pieces without waiting to hear his defence. Thus there was always in every year some crime of violence taking place in the Forum. Then Metellus was allowed to return, and they say that it took him more than a day to receive at the door all the visitors who came to congratulate him.

This attempt of Saturninus was therefore the third civil disorder which occurred, those of the two Gracchi having preceded it; and such were its effects at Rome.

**34.** But while things were in this condition, there arose, to make matters worse, the so-called Social War against a number of the nations of Italy; which, beginning suddenly, and rapidly assuming formidable proportions, terrified the Romans into abandoning their civil dissensions for a considerable period. But its close only led to the development of fresh revolutions and the rise of more powerful revolutionary leaders, who no longer attacked their opponents by bringing in laws or attempting to outbid them in popular favour, but used regular armies against them. And it is because the Social War arose out of the civil dissensions at Rome and led in the end to far more formidable ones, that I have introduced an account of it into this history of mine. Now the way in which it began was the following.

Fulvius Flaccus when consul had been practically the first quite openly to instigate the Italians to strive after the Roman franchise, so that instead of remaining subjects, they might have a share in the government. But when he propounded his view to this effect and insisted strongly upon it, he was for this reason sent away by the Senate on foreign service. The year of his consulship was thus wasted; but subsequently he decided to become tribune, and managed to be elected together with the younger Gracchus, who was himself engaged in similar legislation on behalf of the Italians. But when they had both been killed as I have already

described, the excitement among the Italians grew much greater; for they were determined no longer to remain in the position of subjects, and were indignant that Flaccus and Gracchus should have been treated in this way for taking their part.

35. After this too Livius Drusus, a man of very high family, when tribune promised, at the earnest request of the Italians, to bring forward again a bill for giving them political rights; for it was this for which they were especially anxious, expecting that this one privilege would make them masters instead of subjects. He therefore, to gain the necessary influence with the people, began to flatter them with the hope of numerous colonies in Italy and Sicily, which colonies had been voted a long time ago but never as yet actually undertaken. As for the Senate and the Equites, who were then in violent disagreement on the subject of the juries, he proceeded to endeavour to unite them by a law which professed to benefit both; and as he was unable openly to give the Senators the right of forming the juries, he contrived a scheme for both parties as follows. The number of the Senators having been reduced by the recent feuds to about three hundred, he proposed that an equal number should be elected according to merit from among the Equites and added to them, and that the juries should for the future be chosen from this entire body. He further proposed that those accused of bribery should be called to account before these tribunals, for the universal prevalence of the practice of bribery had rendered prosecutions for it wellnigh unknown. In this way he purposed to serve both parties, but the result proved exactly contrary to his expectations. For the Senate were indignant that so large an addition should be made all at once to their number, and that so many persons should be thus promoted from being mere Equites to the highest honour in the state, thinking it not improbable that even after their promotion

to be Senators, they would as a separate party only agitate the more influentially against those who had been Senators before them. The Equites too suspected that this piece of flattery was merely a prelude to transferring the juries entirely from them to the Senate, and, having experienced the pleasures of profit and power, were bound to view the suggestion with disfavour. Again, their large numbers made them doubtful and suspicious of one another, as they wondered who would be considered most worthy of promotion into the three hundred, and the majority began to grow jealous of their most influential members. But what especially annoyed them was that the prosecutions for bribery should be revived; for up to this time they had been thinking that these had entirely died out, owing to their determined efforts in their own interests.

**36.** Thus then both the Equites and the Senate, notwithstanding their differences, agreed in their hatred of Drusus, and only the people were favourable to him owing to the colonies. The Italians too, for whose sake especially Drusus was developing these schemes, had themselves taken fright at the law about the colonies, expecting to be immediately deprived of the Roman public land which, as far as it had not yet been distributed, they were still engaged in cultivating, either in defiance of the authorities or without their knowledge; and they had anticipations besides of many troubles with respect to that land which was their private property. The Etruscans and Umbrians also had the same fears as the Italians, and having been brought to Rome (by the consuls, as was supposed), professedly to accuse Drusus, but in reality to murder him, went about openly decrying the law while waiting for the day of its confirmation. When Drusus saw this, he refrained from going often into public, but kept on transacting his business within doors in a dimly-lighted colonnade; and here one evening, as he was sending the crowd

away, he suddenly cried out that he had been stabbed, and while still speaking fell down dead; and a cobbler's knife was found fixed in his thigh.

37. Thus then was Drusus too murdered while tribune. And the Equites, making use of his political career as a handle for persecuting their enemies, persuaded the tribune Q. Varius to propose that prosecutions should be instituted against those who were either openly or in secret siding with the Italians against the commonwealth, hoping that by this means injurious accusations would at once be brought against all the nobles, and that, as they themselves would decide the cases, they would thus get rid of their opponents and would acquire an even more important position in the state. But when the rest of the tribunes endeavoured to veto this law, the Equites standing round with drawn swords compelled them to let it pass; and as soon as it was passed, names of prosecutors were entered against all the chief Senators. Thereupon Bestia, without waiting for the trial to come on, set out to go into voluntary exile, not wishing, as he said, to surrender himself into the hands of his enemies; while Cotta, whose case was the next, did indeed come into court but, after dilating on his services to the state and openly reviling the Equites, he too left the city before the verdict had been given; and Mummius, the conqueror of Hellas, being basely deceived by the promises of acquittal made by the Equites, was condemned to banishment and ended his life at Delos. But when the attack on the nobility began to be carried too far, both the people and the Italians grew angry, the former being annoyed at the sudden loss of men who had done such great services to the state, while the latter, hearing of the death of Drusus and the pretext upon which the others were banished, considered that they could no longer bear that those who proposed measures on their behalf should be treated in this way, and failing to see any

further scheme by which they could hope to obtain the citizenship, determined openly to rebel against the Romans and to wage war against them with all their might. So they began secretly to send messengers to one another concerting a plan of action, and proceeded to give one another hostages of mutual good faith. Now the Romans did not notice this for the most part owing to the prosecutions and dissensions which were going on in the city; but when they heard of it, they proceeded to send round to the several towns those Roman citizens who had the greatest influence in each case, to make private enquiries into the matter. And when one of these men saw a youth being taken as a hostage from Asculum to some other town, he reported the fact to Servilius, the pro-consul for the district. (For there were then, as it seems, pro-consuls for the different parts of Italy too; a system which a long time afterwards the Emperor Hadrian revived, and which remained in vogue for a short time after him.) Thereupon Sevilius hastened somewhat rashly into Asculum, and finding the people keeping holiday proceeded to threaten them violently; but they supposing that the conspiracy was discovered, murdered him, and with him Fonteius, who was his legatus; for this is the name they give to those Senators who accompany the governors in the provinces to assist them. And when these two were dead they did not spare any of the other Romans, but ran upon and massacred as many as there were at Asculum, and proceeded to plunder their property.

39. Now when the revolt had broken out, all the tribes in the neighbourhood of Asculum openly sided with that city. These tribes were the Marsi, the Peligni, the Vestini and the Marrucini, and they were joined by the Picentini, the Frentani, the Hirpini, the Pompeiani, the Venusii and the Iapyges, together with the Lucanians and the Samnites (two tribes

which had in earlier times given the Romans much trouble), and all the other peoples that there are between the river Liris, which now as it appears to me they call the Liternus, and the extreme corner of the Ionian gulf, both inland and on the coast. And when they sent ambassadors to Rome, complaining that though they had helped the Romans at all times in the acquisition of their empire, they were yet not considered worthy of being members of the state they had served, the Senate answered them decidedly that if they repented of what they had done they might send ambassadors, but not otherwise. They therefore, seeing that everything else was hopeless, began to take the field; and they had in addition to the troops in their several cities, a further general army of cavalry and infantry to the number of 100,000 men. And the Romans proceeded to send out an equal force to oppose them, consisting of their own troops and those of the nations of Italy that were still faithful to them. The Romans were led by their consuls, Sex. Iulius Caesar and P. Rutilius Lupus; for they both took the field, seeing that this was a civil war which was likely to prove serious; for which reason too those who remained behind mounted guard in force at the gates and on the walls, considering that the war was close upon them and concerned them very deeply. Seeing also that the conduct of the campaign would be complicated, and that it would have to be carried on in many districts at once, they sent out with the consuls as subordinates the best commanders of the time, appointing under Rutilius Cn. Pompeius (the father of Pompeius surnamed Magnus), Q. Caepio, C. Perpenna, C. Marius, and Val. Messala, and under Sextus Caesar, P. Lentulus (Caesar's own brother), T. Didius, Lic. Crassus, Corn. Sulla, and Marcellus besides. All these then served under the consuls and divided up the country among themselves. The consuls used to go round

and visit them all, and the Romans kept sending others as well, because they thought that a decisive battle might be fought in any quarter. Now the Italians had generals for their several cities also, but those who held the chief command over their joint army were T. Afranius, C. Pontilius, Marius Egnatius, Q. Pompaedius, C. Papius, M. Lamponius, C. Iudacilius, Erius Asinius, and Vettius Cato, who divided their forces in the same way as the Romans and proceeded to oppose their several generals; and the war was carried on with varying fortune, but the most important events in it, speaking briefly, were the following.

41. Vettius Cato defeated Sextus Iulius with the loss of 2,000 men and then marched upon Aesernia, which sided with Rome; and its governors, L. Scipio and L. Acilius, dressing themselves as slaves, escaped, while the city was eventually compelled by starvation to surrender to the enemy. Marius Egnatius took Venafrum by treachery and destroyed two Roman cohorts stationed there. P. Presentaeus defeated 10,000 men under Perpenna, killed some 4,000 of them, and captured the arms of most of the rest; whereupon the consul Rutilius relieved Perpenna of his command and added his division to the troops under C. Marius. M. Lamponius killed about 800 of the troops under Lic. Crassus, and drove the rest into the city of Grumentum.
42. C. Papius took Nola by treachery and issued a proclamation calling on the Romans, who were there to the number of 2,000, to change sides and enlist with him. And the common soldiers accepted his offer, but their officers, who refused to obey the proclamation, were taken prisoners and starved to death by Papius. Papius also captured Stabiae and Minoernum and Salernum, which was a Roman colony, and enlisted the prisoners and the slaves from these towns. And when he had wasted all the country round about

Nuceria, the cities in his neighbourhood became panic-stricken and came over to him, and on his asking them for troops, furnished him with 10,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry. With these Papius laid siege to Acerrae, and when Sextus Caesar went to relieve it with 10,000 Gallic infantry and Numidian infantry and cavalry from Mauritania, in addition to his regular troops, Papius brought Oxyntas, the son of the former Numidian king Iugurtha, whom the Romans kept at Venusia, from that place, and dressing him in the royal purple kept displaying him frequently to the Numidians who were with Caesar. Thereupon a number of them at once deserted to him as being their rightful king, so that Caesar, growing distrustful of the rest, sent them back to Libya. But when Papius had approached close to his lines out of contempt for him, and was already beginning to pull down part of the palisade, he sent out his cavalry by other gates and killed about 6,000 of the enemy. After this Caesar left Acerrae; and in Iapygia the people of Canusium and Venusia and many other cities went over to Iudacilius. Some too which would not come over he laid siege to and took, and of the Romans in them he killed the most important, while he enrolled the common people and the slaves in his army.

43. Now Rutilius the consul and C. Marius were engaged on the Liris, making two bridges across the river at no great distance from one another. And Vettius Cato began by posting the greater part of his forces opposite Marius' bridge, and then secretly by night laid an ambush in some ravines by the bridge of Rutilius. Then at dawn, after allowing Rutilius to cross, he suddenly brought these ambushes into action, killing many of the Romans on the land and driving many down into the river. And in this rout Rutilius himself received a javelin-wound in the head which was quickly fatal. But Marius, who was at the other bridge,

guessing what had happened from the bodies that came floating down the stream, drove back those opposite him, and crossing the stream carried the entrenchments of Cato, which were only weakly defended, so that Cato was compelled to pass the night on the scene of his victory and to retreat at dawn for want of provisions. When however the bodies of Rutilius and a number of other well-known men were brought to Rome for burial, the sight of the consul and of so many others who had fallen caused great distress, and public lamentations were made, lasting many days. So after this the Senate decreed that those who were killed in war should be buried where they fell, in order that others might not be deterred from serving by the sight of their bodies. And when the enemy had heard of this, they passed a similar resolution with reference to themselves.

**44.** No successor was chosen for Rutilius for the rest of that year, as Sextus Caesar had no time to come up to Rome for elections ; but the Senate appointed C. Marius and Q. Caepio to command his army. To this Caepio came Q. Pompaedius, the general opposed to him, professing to be a deserter, and brought with him as hostages two slave children dressed in purple-bordered clothes, pretending that they were his sons. He brought as further security lumps of lead covered with gold and silver ; and begged Caepio to follow him immediately with his army so as to fall on his camp while it was still destitute of a general. So Caepio was persuaded to follow him, but when Pompaedius came near the ambush which he had prepared, he ran up on to a hill, to observe the enemy, as he said, and proceeded to give his men a sign. They then, sallying out, cut to pieces Caepio and a number of those with him ; and the rest of the army of Caepio was added by the Senate to the force under Marius.

**45.** Sextus Caesar, when passing with an army of 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry out of a ravine with

precipitous sides, was suddenly attacked by Marius Egnatius and driven back into the ravine, and fled on a litter (being ill at the time) to a river, where there was only one bridge; here he lost the greater part of his troops and the arms of the rest, escaping with difficulty to Teanum, at which place he armed the survivors as well as he could. And when further forces had been despatched to him with all speed, he marched to the relief of Acerrae, which was still being besieged by Papius. There the two generals encamped opposite to one another without either of them daring to take the

**46.** offensive. But Corn. Sulla and C. Marius utterly defeated the Marsi who attacked them, driving them to take refuge behind the walls of some vineyards. The Marsi in their panic climbed these walls, and Marius and Sulla did not care to follow them over them; but Corn. Sulla\* who was encamped on the other side of these vines, having perceived what had happened, set out to intercept the fugitives of the Marsi, and he too succeeding in killing a large number of them, so that the total number of slain on that day was more than 6,000, while the Romans captured the arms of a much larger number.

The Marsi then, being, like wild beasts, only the more enraged by their defeat, proceeded to arm themselves again and to make preparations to attack the Romans, who did not dare themselves to take the initiative or to offer battle; for the race is most warlike and they say that this defeat was the only occasion on which a triumph was ever celebrated over them, it having been said before that there was never a triumph either over

**47.** the Marsi or without them. At the Mons Falernus Iudacilius, Titus Afranius, and Publius Vettius, joining their forces, defeated Cn. Pompeius, and drove him into the city of Firmum. Then the rest of them went

\* Nomen vel hic vel supra mendosum.

elsewhither, while Afranius proceeded to lay siege to Pompeius in Firmum. And he, though he at once set to work to arm the survivors of his army, did not at first go out to battle, but, when another army had come to his assistance, he sent round Sulpicius to take up a position behind Afranius, while he himself attacked him in front. So when the engagement had become hand to hand and both sides were suffering severely, Sulpicius set fire to the camp of the enemy ; and as soon as they saw this, they fled to Asculum in disorder and without a general ; for Afranius had fallen in the battle. Then Pompeius marched on Asculum and proceeded to lay siege to it.

**48.** Now Asculum was the native city of Iudacilius, so he, fearing for his safety, hastened towards it with eight cohorts. And he sent forward a message to the people of Asculum, bidding them, as soon as they saw him approaching from afar, make a sortie against the besiegers, so that their enemies might be attacked on both sides. The people of Asculum, however, were afraid to do this, but none the less Iudacilius forced his way into the city, through the midst of the enemy, with as many men as he could ; and when there, after rebuking the citizens for their cowardice and disobedience, having no longer any hope for the safety of the city, he proceeded to kill all those who used to be his enemies in former times, and who then too had through envy dissuaded the people from following his orders. This done, he erected a pyre in the temple, and laying out couches on the pyre, feasted with his friends ; and when they were well drunk, poison was brought in with the wine, and he laid himself on the pyre, and bade his friends set fire to it. Iudacilius therefore, having shown himself jealous to die for his country, perished thus ; and Sextus Caesar, who, after his year of office had expired, had been chosen pro-consul by the Senate, made a sudden attack on a body of 20,000 men while they were shifting

their quarters to some place, and killed as many as 8,000 of them and captured the arms of many more. But he was not destined to see the end of the siege of Asculum, for he died of illness, appointing as his successor C. Baebius.

49. This then was what happened in the parts of Italy about the Ionian Gulf; and when the Etruscans and the Umbrians and some other nations in their neighbourhood on the other side of Rome heard of it, they all became eager to revolt. Thereupon the Senate, fearing that if the war were to surround them on every side they would be unable to defend themselves against it, proceeded to guard the coast between Cumae and the city with freed-men, who were then for the first time, owing to the want of men, enrolled as soldiers, and voted that all those Italians who were still faithful to them should become citizens, which was the one thing for which they were all particularly anxious. And this resolution they sent round to the Etruscans, who gladly accepted the franchise. By this concession the Senate made those who were already well disposed towards them still more so, and confirmed the wavering, and made even those who were fighting against them less determined, from the hope that similar favours would be extended to them. But the Romans did not enrol these new citizens in the thirty-five tribes already existing, lest they should be in a majority and outvote the older citizens, but, dividing them into ten sections, they formed them into other tribes which voted last. Thus their vote was often of no value, the thirty-five being called on first and making an absolute majority. But this fact was either not noticed at the time, or else the Italians were ready to accept the franchise even in spite of it; afterwards, however, when its true nature became known, it grew to be the cause of fresh dissensions.

50. The Italians about the Ionian Gulf, not yet knowing

that the Etruscans had changed their minds, sent an army of 15,000 men round by a long and unusual route to help them. But Cn. Pompeius, who was now consul, fell upon these and destroyed as many as 5,000 of them ; while of the rest, as they were making their way back through a difficult country and in a severe winter, the half died through eating acorns. In the same winter Porcius Cato, the colleague of Pompeius, was killed in a battle with the Marsi ; and when Sulla encamped on the Pompaean mountains, L. Cluentius with the greatest insolence pitched his camp within three stades of him. Then Sulla, unable to put up with such effrontery, without waiting for his foragers to come in, made an attack on Cluentius. For the moment indeed he was worsted and put to flight, but when he had been reinforced by his foragers, he in turn defeated Cluentius. The latter then, for the time being, pitched his camp at a greater distance, but when a body of Gauls had joined him he again approached Sulla. And when the armies met, a Gaul of great stature ran forward and challenged any of the Romans to single combat. But a Moor of small stature accepted his challenge and killed him, whereupon the Gauls were seized with panic and straightway took to flight ; while, the ranks having been thus broken, the rest too of the troops of Cluentius were unable to stand their ground any longer, and fled in disorder to Nola. And Sulla pursued them, killing 30,000 of them on the way, and as the people of Nola would only receive them at one gate, for fear that the enemy might rush in with them, he killed another 20,000 of them by the walls, among whom Cluentius fell fighting.

**51.** Then Sulla changed his quarters to another territory, that of the Hirpini, and advanced against Aeculanum. The people of that city, expecting the Lucanians to come to their assistance the same day, asked for time in which to consider Sulla's terms. But he, perceiving their design, gave them an hour, and in the meantime sur-

rounded their wall, which was of wood, with fagots, and to these, after the hour was expired, he set fire. Then the inhabitants, fearing for the safety of their city, surrendered. The city Sulla proceeded to plunder, on the ground that it had not come over of its own free will but under compulsion, but the other cities that surrendered to him he always spared, till the whole nation of the Hirpini had been subdued and he was able to pass over to the Samnites. Now this he did, not by the roads that Motilus the Samnite general was defending, but by another longer route, where he was not expected; so falling on the enemy suddenly, he killed many of them, while the rest dispersed and fled, Motilus being wounded and escaping with a few followers to Aesernia. Then Sulla, after destroying his camp, came to Bovianum, which was the headquarters of the insurgents. Now the city had three citadels, and when the people of Bovianum had massed their forces against Sulla [by one of these], Sulla sent round a body of men with orders to capture whichever of the other citadels they could, and to signal the fact to him by a column of smoke. As soon as this signal had been given, he attacked the forces opposite him, and after a severe engagement of three hours took the city.

Such then were the successes of Sulla in the course of this summer; but when the winter was coming on, he returned to Rome to canvass for the consulship, **52.** while Cn. Pompeius subdued the Marsi, the Marrucini and the Vestini: and C. Cosconius, another Roman general, attacked and burned Salapia, and captured Cannae; and when the Samnites came to relieve Canusium, which he was besieging, he opposed them stoutly till, after both sides had suffered severely, he was worsted and retreated to Cannae. Thereupon, as the armies were divided by a river, Trebatius, the Samnite commander, bade Cosconius either cross himself and fight, or retire and let him cross. So Cosconius retired, but

fell upon Trebatius as soon as he had crossed the river, and defeated him; and he fled to the river, and lost 15,000 men there, the rest escaping with him to Canusium. Then Cosconius made a raid on the country of the people of Larinum and Venusia and Asculum, and attacking the Pediculi, subdued the whole nation in two

**53.** days. Finally Caecilius Metellus, who came to succeed Cosconius in the command, invaded Iapygia, and he too gained a victory by defeating the Iapyges, Pompaedius, another of the generals of the insurgents, falling on this occasion. Thereupon the rest of the Italians gradually came over to Caecilius.

These then were the events of the Social War in Italy, which reached such a pitch of gravity that the whole of Italy was admitted to the Roman franchise, with the exception, for the time being, of the Lucanians and Samnites; and they too seem to me eventually to have obtained what they wanted. Now all these were enrolled in the tribes in the same manner as those to whom the franchise had already been granted, to avoid their being mixed up with the older citizens and out-voting them, as they formed the majority.

**54.** At the same time the debtors [and the creditors]\* at Rome had a quarrel, for the money-lenders used to lend at interest, while an old law distinctly declared that usury was forbidden, and that the offender against this law was liable to penalties. For the ancient Romans seem to me to have objected, like the Greeks, to usury, regarding it as mean, and hard on the poor, and provocative of strife and enmity, just as the Persians regard borrowing as deceitful and conducive to fraud. But now that longstanding usage had established the practice of receiving interest the creditors began to demand it, relying on this usage, but the debtors wished to defer payment owing to the wars and the disturbances, while

\* *καὶ οἱ χρεῶσται* add. Nauck.

some even began to threaten to enforce the penalty against the money-lenders. Then the praetor Asellio, who by virtue of his office had charge of such questions, when he had failed in his attempts to bring about a reconciliation between the parties, gave each of them leave to bring actions against the other, pointing out to the jury the contradiction between the law and the practice. But the money-lenders, being enraged at his thus reviving this old law, murdered him in the following manner. He was sacrificing to Castor and Pollux in the Forum, while the crowd stood round, as it would for a sacrifice; but when, as a signal of attack, one of them threw a stone at him, he flung away the bowl and began to run towards the temple of Vesta. But they anticipated him and cut him off from the temple, and when he took refuge in an inn, they murdered him there. And many of his pursuers, thinking that he had taken refuge among the Vestal Virgins, ran in to places where it was not lawful for men to go. Thus Asellio, while praetor and in the act of pouring a libation, being dressed in the sacred golden vestments for sacrifice, was murdered about the second hour in the middle of the forum during the sacred rites; and though the Senate decreed that anyone who would give information leading to the conviction of the murderers should receive, if a free man, a reward, if a slave, freedom, and if an accomplice, pardon, yet no one declared their names, the money-lenders keeping the matter secret.

55. So far then there had been merely isolated murders and civil disturbances involving only a small number of the citizens; but after this the revolutionary leaders used to engage one another with great armies as in war, while their country was set as a prize in the midst. Now the event which first led to this state of affairs was the following, which took place immediately after the Social War.

When Mithridates, the king of Pontus and the sur-

rounding nations, had invaded Bithynia and Phrygia and the contiguous province of Asia, as I have described in the previous book, while Sulla, who as consul had obtained the province of Asia and the command in this war against Mithridates, was still at Rome, Marius, who thought that the war would be an easy and a profitable one, and was anxious for the command, induced the tribune P. Sulpicius by many promises to assist him, and proceeded to hold out hopes to the new citizens from Italy, who had been defrauded of their proper share of the franchise, that he would distribute them over the whole body of the tribes, not mentioning anything about his own wishes, but hoping, when he had gained them over, to find them willing to serve him in everything. Sulpicius therefore immediately introduced a bill to this effect; and it was clear that, if this was passed, whatever Marius or Sulpicius might wish would be accomplished, since the new citizens far outnumbered the old. So this was the cause of violent altercations between the two bodies, for the older citizens saw at a glance what the result of the law would be. And when they began to attack one another with sticks and stones, and the trouble kept continually growing greater, the consuls became alarmed as the day for the voting approached, and decreed a lengthy iustitium, such as used to take place during the festivals, in order that the voting

56. and the danger might be somewhat postponed. But Sulpicius would not wait for the iustitium to come to an end, and issued orders to his partisans to come into the Forum with hidden daggers and do whatever he might bid them, not even sparing the consuls if necessary. Then when all his arrangements had been made, he proceeded to condemn the iustitium as unconstitutional, and to command the consuls Corn. Sulla and Q. Pompeius immediately to cancel it, that he might bring his proposal to the vote. And a tumult

having arisen, those who had been prepared drew their daggers and began to threaten to kill the consuls who were thwarting them, till Pompeius slipped away and escaped, while Sulla effected his retreat on the pretext of considering the matter. But in the meantime the partisans of Sulpicius murdered the son of Pompeius, who was a kinsman of Sulla, for expressing his opinion too freely. When Sulla returned, he cancelled the iustitium and at once hastened away to Capua, where he had stationed his army with a view to crossing from Capua into Asia to fight with Mithridates; for he had been unaware of the intrigues that were being carried on against him. But Sulpicius, as soon as the iustitium had been cancelled and Sulla had left the city, proceeded to carry his bill, and then, as had been his original motive for all this, immediately to elect Marius as general for the Mithridatic war instead of Sulla.

57. When Sulla heard of this, he judged that the matter must be settled by war, and called together his army to a meeting; for he knew that they too were eager for the war against Mithridates, expecting that it would be a profitable one, and were afraid that Marius would enlist other troops for it instead of them. Then Sulla, after speaking of the affront shown him by Marius and Sulpicius, without making any other definite statement (for he did not yet dare to say anything about a war of such a kind), bade them be ready to obey his orders. And they, understanding his intention, and fearing for their own part to be disappointed of the war, proceeded to give utterance themselves to the thought of Sulla, bidding him not hesitate to lead them against Rome. Delighted at this, he at once set out at the head of six legions of soldiers; but all the officers, except one quaestor, left him and fled to Rome, refusing to lead an army against their country. While he was on the road ambassadors met him, and asked him why he was coming with arms against his country. But he answered

that he purposed to free it from tyrants. This he said two or three times to different embassies that were sent to him, but yet he offered each time, if they were willing to bring the Senate and Marius and Sulpicius to meet him in the Campus Martius, to do whatever seemed to them upon consideration the best. And as he was coming near, his colleague Pompeius, sympathising with and approving of what he was doing, came to him, offering to co-operate with him in everything. Then Marius and Sulpicius, being anxious for a short interval in which to make preparations, sent yet other ambassadors, who also professed to come from the Senate, requiring him not to encamp nearer than forty stades from the city, until they had examined into the state of affairs. But Sulla and Pompeius, clearly perceiving the intention of this embassy, promised to obey, and then, as soon as the ambassadors had left them, set

**58.** out to follow them. Sulla seized the Esquiline gate and the wall by it with one legion, and Pompeius the Colline with another legion, while a third advanced upon the wooden bridge, and a fourth remained as a reserve outside the walls. With the rest Sulla proceeded to enter the city, making no secret of that hostility which he actually felt towards it. Wherefore those who lived in that part tried to defend themselves by hurling missiles down on him from above, till he threatened to burn the houses. Then they desisted; but Marius and Sulpicius came to meet him in the Esquiline Forum with as many men as they had been able hastily to arm. Thus for the first time there took place a hostile encounter in Rome, no longer in the form of a street-riot, but openly after the manner of warfare with trumpet and standards; to such a pitch of disorder had the Romans been brought by their neglect to suppress the faction-fights. But when the troops of Sulla were beginning to be worsted, Sulla seized a standard and threw himself into the front of



the battle, hoping that his men would at once turn back from their flight, out of respect for their leader, and from fear of the disgrace of abandoning their standard. And Sulla proceeded to call up the reserves from the camp, and to send round other troops by the street called Suburra, by which they were to hurry round and take the enemy in the rear. Then the troops of Marius, being only able to offer a feeble resistance to the fresh forces that had come up, and being afraid lest they should be surrounded by those who were outflanking them, began to call together the rest of the citizens who were still fighting from the houses, and to offer freedom to the slaves if they would join them. But when no one came forward, they abandoned all hope, and at once took to flight out of the city, accompanied by as many of the

59. nobles as had sided with them. After this Sulla came into the so-called Sacred Way, and proceeded to punish publicly, in the sight of all, those who were plundering what lay before them ; and, having set guards at regular intervals throughout the city, he and Pompeius spent the night in going round them all to see that no violence was done under the influence either of fear or of success. Then, as soon as it was day, they called together the people to an assembly, where they expressed their sorrow at the way in which the state had long been given over into the hands of demagogues, and explained that they had been compelled to take this step. And they moved that no bill should in future be submitted to the people without first receiving the consent of the Senate,—this had been the custom originally, but the practice had for many years past fallen into disuse,—and that the voting should no longer be by tribes, but by centuries, as King Tullius had made it; for they thought that by these two expedients, if no bill were introduced to the people without the consent of the Senate and the voting were no longer in the hands of the poor and reckless but in those of the well-to-do and cautious, they would take

away all occasion for civil dissensions in the future. In many other ways too did they reduce the power of the tribunes, who had practically come to occupy the position of tyrants; and besides this they enrolled in the Senate, which had by that time become greatly reduced in numbers and could therefore be easily set at naught, a compact body of 300 men chosen from the highest class. And everything which had been passed by Sulpicius, after the iustum decreed by the consuls, was repealed as being unconstitutional.

60. Thus the civil dissensions kept growing from strife and jealousy to murder, and from murder to regular warfare; and thus for the first time an army of citizens invaded their native land as if it had been an enemy's country. But henceforward civil disputes were regularly decided in the field, and frequent marches on Rome took place, and there were assaults on the walls and all other kinds of warlike operations, nothing in the way of respect for laws or constitution or country any longer hindering the combatants in their violence. Now therefore Sulpicius, who was still tribune, Marius, who had been six times consul, and the son of Marius, together with P. Cethegus, Iunius Brutus, Cn. and Q. Granius, P. Albinovanus, M. Laetorius, and as many as had fled from Rome with them, to the number of about twelve, were declared enemies of the Roman people, on the ground that they had raised a revolution and made war on the consuls and offered slaves their liberty if they would revolt: and whoever met them was bidden to kill them without fear of punishment or to deliver them up to the consuls; and their property was confiscated. Then pursuers hurried in every direction after the men; 61. and Sulpicius they caught and killed. But Marius escaped from them to Minturnae, without servant or follower. And the authorities of the place, finding him resting in a dark house, being on the one hand afraid of the decree of the people and on the other unwilling

themselves to kill a man who had been six times consul and had performed so many brilliant deeds, sent in a Gaul, who happened to be in the place, with a sword to kill him. But they say that the Gaul, as he was coming near the bed of straw in the darkness, took fright, thinking that the eyes of Marius flashed fire; and when Marius himself, rising from the bed, shouted at him in a loud voice, "Dost thou dare to kill C. Marius?" the Gaul turned and rushed headlong out through the door like a madman, crying, "I cannot kill C. Marius!" Whereupon the authorities, who had already hesitated much in coming to their decision, were seized with a superstitious fear and remembered how it had been declared in the man's childhood that he was to be seven times consul; for they say that when Marius was a child seven young eagles flew down into his breast, and that the soothsayers foretold that he would attain to the chief

62. magistracy seven times. Considering this therefore, and supposing that the panic of the Gaul had been divinely inspired, the authorities of Minturnae at once proceeded to send Marius out of the city to a place where he should be safe. But he, being conscious that he was being sought for by Sulla and pursued by horsemen, went wandering by unfrequented paths towards the sea, and coming to a hut, he rested there, covering himself with leaves. And hearing a noise, he hid himself under the leaves, and hearing the noise grow louder, he sprang into the boat of an old fisherman which was moored by the shore there, compelling the old man to put to sea in spite of the storm that was blowing, cutting the cable and spreading the sail for chance to carry him whither it would. So he was borne to a certain island, and finding a ship manned by the natives sailing from there to Libya, he crossed over in it. But when he was excluded as an enemy from Libya too by the governor Sextilius, he spent the winter out

at sea, a little beyond Libya, within the borders of Numidia. And while he was on the sea, some of his fellow-exiles, who had heard where he was, sailed to meet him, among them Cethagus, Granius, Albinovanus, Laetorius, and Marius' own son; for all these had escaped from Rome to the Numidian king Hiempsal, but suspecting that he meant to surrender them had fled away from there.

So they then were plotting to attack their country, just as Sulla had done, and, as they had no army, were

63. waiting for some turn of fortune; but at Rome, Sulla, being the first who had ever occupied the city by force of arms, and having already perhaps the power to make himself absolute ruler of it, yet, as soon as he had taken vengeance on his enemies, willingly laid down his power, and, sending his army on again to Capua, proceeded to govern as consul. Then the partisans of the exiles, as many as belonged to the wealthy classes, and a number of rich women, breathing again after their fright at the soldiers, began to make great efforts to bring about the return of their friends, sparing neither zeal nor expense for that object and even plotting against the persons of the consuls, thinking that it would be impossible for the exiles to return while these were still alive. Now Sulla had an army with which to protect himself, even after he had ceased to be consul, namely, the army which had been voted for the war against Mithridates; and as for Q. Pompeius, the other consul, the people, pitying his defenceless condition, voted that he should have the command of Italy and of another army, which was at that time stationed there under Cn. Pompeius. Gnaeus, on hearing this, was vexed, but none the less, when Quintus came, he received him into the camp; on the following day, however, when the latter was transacting some business, he went some distance off, as though resigning his claim to command, while a number of men surrounded the consul under pretext of an audience and

killed him. And when the rest had taken to flight, Gnaeus met them and expressed his disapprobation of the fact that a consul should have been lawlessly killed ; but in spite of his vexation he immediately consented

**64.** to resume the command. When the news of the murder of Pompeius reached Rome, straightway Sulla became very alarmed for his own safety, and kept a bodyguard of his friends about him everywhere, even at night ; and before long he went to his army at Capua, and from thence to Asia. But the friends of the exiles, putting their trust in Cinna, who had been made consul after Sulla, stirred up the new citizens to demand the proposal of Marius, that they should be distributed among all the tribes, so that they should not be altogether powerless through having to vote last. This was of course but the first step towards the recall of Marius and his adherents. And when the original citizens violently opposed this measure, Cinna took the side of the new citizens, having, as was supposed, been bribed with 300 talents to do so, while the other consul, Octavius, supported the original citizens. Then the followers of Cinna occupied the Forum with hidden daggers and began to demand that they should be distributed among all the tribes ; but the more respectable crowd went to rally round Octavius, they too armed with daggers. And while he was still in his house awaiting the issue, the news came that the majority of the tribunes had vetoed the proceedings, and that the new citizens were making a tumult and were already drawing their daggers in the streets and leaping up on to the rostra to attack the tribunes who were thwarting them. As soon as Octavius heard this, he went down by the Sacred Way with a compact crowd of followers, and bursting like a torrent into the Forum, he forced his way through the midst of the rioters and scattered them, and came, when he had routed them, into the temple of Castor and Pollux, driving out Cinna. And his

followers, without waiting for orders, fell upon the new citizens and killed many of them, and pursued others as they fled right up to the gates. Then Cinna, who had relied on the numbers of the new citizens and had expected to be victorious, seeing the audacity of the minority being crowned with unexpected success, began to run up through the city, calling out the slaves under promise of freedom ; but when no one came out to join him, he hurried out to the neighbouring cities, which had only recently received the Roman franchise, Tibur and Praeneste and the others as far as Nola, stirring them all up to revolt and collecting money for the war. And while Cinna was occupied with these measures and projects, there fled to him from the Senate those who agreed with his views, C. Milonius and Q. Sertorius and C. Marius, a namesake of the celebrated one. Thereupon the Senate decreed that Cinna could no longer be a consul or a citizen, in that while consul he had deserted the city when in danger and had offered liberty to the slaves ; and they elected in his place L. Merula, the priest of Iupiter. Now this priest is called the Flamen Dialis,\* and is the only one who wears the pileus always, the other priests only wearing it when engaged on sacred rites. But Cinna came to Capua, where there was another Roman army, and set to work to conciliate the commanders and as many Senators as were staying there ; and then, having come into the midst of the soldiers as consul, he flung down the fasces to show that he was no longer in office, and said with tears, “ It was from you, citizens, that I received this dignity, for the people elected me ; but the Senate has deprived me of it without your consent. And though it is I myself who have suffered this indignity, yet my grief is for you ; for why do we still canvass the tribes at the elections, what need have we of your help, how will

\* φλάμενος διάλις προ φλαμέντας Bekker.

you be able any longer to control the assemblies or the elections or the consulships, if you do not confirm the honours that you give, but take them away again 66. when it suits your purposes?" This he said to rouse their passions, adding much besides to induce them to pity him; and he tore his clothes, and leaping from the rostrum, flung himself into the midst of them and lay there for a long time, till, being touched, they lifted him up, and setting him again on his seat, picked up the fasces and bade him be of good cheer, for he was consul and should lead them whithersoever he might wish. Then straightway their officers took advantage of this opportunity, and swore the military oath to Cinna, and each of them administered the same oath to his subordinates. After this Cinna, having secured himself in this quarter, hurried round to the cities of the allies and tried to rouse them too, on the plea that it had been for their sakes chiefly that this trouble had come upon him; and they supplied him with money and troops. Many more too of the Roman nobles kept coming to join him, being discontented that the constitution should remain stable.

But while Cinna was thus engaged, Octavius and Merula the consuls were fortifying the city with trenches and adding to the strength of the walls and putting up engines and sending round for troops to the other cities that were still subject to them and to the nearer parts of Gaul; they sent moreover to summon Cn. Pompeius, who was pro-consul in command of the forces about the Ionian Gulf, to come with speed to the aid of his 67. country. So he came and encamped by the Colline Gate, while Cinna advanced and proceeded to encamp alongside of him. When C. Marius had heard of this, he sailed over into Etruria together with his fellow-exiles and those of their slaves who had come from Rome to join them, to the number in all of about 500. And he passed from city to city, dressed still in rags and without

having cut his hair, looking a pitiable object; and by dilating on his wars and his trophies won against the Cimbri and his six consulships, and making very welcome promises to them about the franchise,—promises which he seemed likely to keep,—he collected a force of 6,000 Etruscans and came to Cinna, who received him gladly owing to their common fortunes. As soon as they had joined their forces, they encamped on the river Tiber in three divisions, Cinna and with him Carbo, opposite the city, Sertorius above the city, and Marius by the sea, the latter throwing a boom across the river to prevent provisions from coming into the city. Marius also captured Ostia and plundered it, and Cinna sent out a force which occupied Ariminum, to prevent any army coming to Rome from the tributary

68. part of Gaul. Then the consuls, being alarmed, and requiring reinforcements, since they could not summon Sulla, for he had already crossed into Asia, sent orders to Caecilius Metellus, who was engaged against the Samnites in finishing up the remains of the Social War, to come to the assistance of his country, which was being besieged, as soon as ever he could conclude the campaign on honourable terms. But when Metellus would not grant the Samnites the conditions for which they asked, Marius, having been informed of this, made an agreement with the Samnites granting them all those conditions which Metellus had refused. Thus the Samnites too became the allies of Marius. Now Appius Claudius, a military tribune, who was in command of that part of the wall of Rome which was on the hill called Ianiculum, had in former times experienced kindness at the hands of Marius. Marius then reminded him of this and thus procured admission into the city, the gate being opened to him about dawn; and he in his turn let in Cinna. But they were immediately driven out, Octavius and Pompeius making an assault on them. Shortly afterwards, however, a violent

thunderstorm broke over the camp of Pompeius, and both he and other nobles were killed by lightning.

69. When Marius had stopped the supplies which came up from the sea or down the river, he marched round to the cities near Rome where the Romans had corn stored up: and falling suddenly on the garrisons, he captured Antium, Aricia, Lanuvium, and other cities, being aided in some cases by treachery. Then as soon as he had made himself master of the supplies by land also, he began to march confidently on Rome down the so-called Via Appia, before any further supplies could be brought into the city from elsewhere. So he and Cinna, with their generals Carbo and Sertorius, encamped at a distance of 100 stades from Rome, while Octavius, Crassus and Metellus took up a position in the Alban hills and waited to see what would happen; for though they were still looked upon as superior both in morale and numbers, they were reluctant rashly to risk the whole fortune of their country on one battle. When, however, Cinna sent messengers round the city offering freedom to any slaves who would come over to him, they at once began to come over in great numbers; so that the Senate, being in perplexity, and fearing violence at the hands of the people if the want of food were to continue, began to waver, and proceeded to send ambassadors to Cinna to ask for terms. But when he enquired of them whether they recognised him as consul or not, they were at a loss for an answer and returned to the city; whereupon numbers of free citizens too hurried out to join Cinna, some owing to their fear of famine, others having long been his partisans but having waited the turn of events. And now Cinna began to approach the wall defiantly, pitching his camp within bowshot of the city; for the troops of Octavius were still in doubt, fearing and hesitating to attack him because of the desertions and

the negotiations. But the Senate were altogether at a loss, and though they thought it hard that L. Merula, the priest of Jupiter, who was consul instead of Cinna, should be deprived of his office though he had committed no offence in the exercise of it, yet they were compelled by their distress to send, against their will, a second embassy to Cinna, recognising him as consul; and having no longer any hope of favourable terms, they asked merely that Cinna should swear to them that the lives of those in the city should be spared. And he, while refusing to swear, yet gave them a promise to the effect that he would not willingly be the cause of any man's being put to death; but Octavius, who had by this time come round and entered the city by another gate, he advised to retire, warning him that he might be unable to protect him from injury. This then he answered to the ambassadors, speaking from a lofty rostrum as consul; and Marius, who stood by his seat, said nothing, though he made it clear by the grimness of his look how much blood he meant to shed. And when the Senate after receiving this answer called upon Cinna and Marius to enter,—for they saw that all this was the work of Marius and that Cinna was merely lending his name to it,—Marius remarked, with a very ironical smile, that exiles had no right of entry. Then immediately the tribunes voted the cancelment of the decree of banishment made against him and such others as had been expelled under the consulship of Sulla.

**71.** So they made their entry into the city, where everyone received them with fear, and they commenced to plunder unhindered the property of all those whom they suspected of having opposed them. Now Cinna and Marius had given their oaths to Octavius, and the augurs and soothsayers kept assuring him that nothing would happen to him; but his friends persisted in advising him to fly. He however answered that, being consul, he would never desert the city; and withdraw-

ing himself, he retired with the chief nobles and the small remains of his army to the Ianiculum, and sat upon the seat, dressed in his official robes, with the consular fasces and axes around him. But when Censorinus was seen coming riding towards him with a troop of horsemen, his friends and the soldiers standing round again urged him to fly, and brought him his horse; but he refused, and without even deigning to rise from his seat, sat awaiting his death. And Censorinus cut off his head and brought it to Cinna, and it was hung up before the rostra in the Forum,—a new form of barbarity, of which a consul was thus the first victim. But after him the heads of the others too as they were killed were hung up in the same way, and this additional outrage continued customary, what was done first in the case of Octavius being afterwards regularly repeated with those who were killed by their political enemies. Then straightway pursuers set out after the enemies of Marius, whether Senators or Equites. As for the Equites who were killed, no further account was taken of them when once they were dead, but the heads of all the Senators were regularly displayed before the rostra. For men's actions were no longer controlled by any reverence for the Gods or dread of human vengeance or fear of exciting hatred, and, not content with savage deeds, they found a further pleasure in unholy sights, slaughtering without pity, and cutting off the heads of men already dead, and publicly displaying their barbarities with a view to inspiring terror or bewilderment, or perhaps because they enjoyed the unholy spectacle.

72. C. Iulius and L. Iulius his brother, Atilius Serranus, P. Lentulus, C. Nemetorius and M. Baebius were captured on the road and killed, and Crassus, when being pursued with his son, first killed the latter and was then himself killed by his pursuers. But M. Antonius the orator fled to a farm, where the owner hid him and entertained him; but when he sent his

slave to the inn to order better wine than he usually drank, the innkeeper asked the reason; and as soon as the slave, after telling him in a whisper, had made his purchase and gone, the innkeeper at once hurried off to inform Marius. Marius, as soon as he heard the news, was so pleased that he sprang up and ran off with the intention of settling the matter himself; but his friends restrained him. So a tribune was despatched, who sent soldiers up into the house. Antonius, however, who was a fascinating speaker, charmed them with a long discourse, using every possible device to excite their pity, till the tribune, wondering what was going on, himself ran up into the house, and finding the soldiers listening, proceeded with his own hand to kill Antonius while still speaking, and sent his head to

73. Marius. Cornutus, who had taken refuge among some huts, was saved by the presence of mind of his slaves; for they found a dead body and built a funeral pyre, and when the pursuers came up, they lighted the pyre and said that they were burning their master, who had hanged himself. Thus he was saved by his slaves; while Q. Ancharius watched for an occasion when Marius was intending to sacrifice in the Capitol, hoping that the sacredness of the place would protect him. So when Marius was beginning to sacrifice, Ancharius came forward to speak to him; but Marius ordered those standing by to kill him there in the Capitol. And the heads of Ancharius and Antonius the orator and the others who had been consuls or praetors were displayed in the Forum, while no one was allowed to bury any of those who were killed, but dogs and birds of prey tore to pieces the bodies of these eminent men. And many more innocent persons\* did these partisans murder with impunity, while others they banished, confiscating their property and depriving them of their offices and an-

\* *ἐς ἀλλήλους* "adversus innocentes" vertit Candidus. *ἐς ἀναιρίους* vel sim. Mend.; malim *ἐς ἀνευθύνους*.

nulling the laws passed under Sulla. The personal friends of Sulla were all killed, his house was rased to the ground, his property was confiscated, and he was declared a public enemy; but his wife and family, though sought after, escaped. In a word, crime and violence of every kind reached at this time the highest conceivable pitch.

**74.** Next, as a pretence of lawful government after so many executions without trial, men were put up to accuse Merula, the priest of Iupiter, out of indignation at his having innocently accepted the consulship in place of Cinna, and besides him Lutatius Catulus, who had been the colleague of Marius in the Cimbrian war, and who, though saved by Marius in olden times, had proved ungrateful to him and particularly eager for his exile. So these two were secretly watched, and when the appointed day had arrived were called to the trial; for defendants might only be arrested if, after being summoned four times with a certain fixed interval between each summons, they failed to appear. Whereupon Merula opened his veins, declaring on a tablet which was found lying by his side that when doing so he had taken off his pileus (for it was not lawful for a priest to die in his official dress), while Catulus set light to some charcoal in a room which had been newly plastered and was still wet, and purposely suffocated himself. So these two died in this way.—Now those slaves who had gained their freedom by obeying the summons of Cinna to come out and join him, and were now serving under Cinna himself, were in the habit of breaking into houses and plundering them, not hesitating to kill anyone whom they might meet, while some of them showed especial animosity against their former masters. And Cinna, after many vain attempts to stop them, surrounded them with a body of Gauls while it was still night and they were asleep, and proceeded to destroy them all.

So these slaves paid the just penalty for their frequent

75. unfaithfulness to their masters. In the following year there were chosen as consuls, Cinna, for the second time, and, for the seventh time, Marius, who thus, in spite of his exile and his outlawry as a public enemy, yet fulfilled the prophecy of the seven new-born eagles. But he, while engaged in forming many violent designs against Sulla, died in the first month of his office, so Cinna chose in his stead Val. Flaccus, and sent the latter into Asia. . But when Flaccus too had died, then he

76. chose Carbo as his colleague. Now Sulla, in his eagerness to return and attack his political enemies, hurried on all his operations against Mithridates as I have already described, and in less than three years killed 160,000 men and recovered for the Romans Hellas and Macedonia and Ionia and Asia and all the many other countries seized upon by Mithridates ; and having captured the fleet of the king and confined him once more to his hereditary dominions, he set out to return with a large and well-trained army which was devoted to him and elated by its achievements. He had besides a number of ships, and money, and considerable supplies of every description, and his opponents became much alarmed, so that for fear of him Cinna and Carbo sent round messengers to the whole of Italy to collect money and troops and provisions for them, trying to win over the influential families by associating with them, and endeavouring especially to stir up the newly-enfranchised cities, pointing out that it was on their account that they were in such danger. And they began to build numbers of new ships, and to recall those stationed in Sicily, and to guard the coast ; so that they too for their part, urged on by fear no less than by zeal, were leaving nothing undone which might assist them in rapidly attaining to a condition of readiness.

77. In the meantime Sulla sent a proud message to the Senate about himself, relating what he had done, as quaestor still in Libya against the Numidian Iugurtha,

as legatus in the Cimbric War, and as praetor in Cilicia, dwelling next on his deeds in the Social War and as consul, and dilating especially on his recent achievements against Mithridates, recounting to them the long list of the nations which he had recovered for the Romans from that king, and laying particular emphasis on the fact that, when those whom Cinna had exiled from Rome had fled to him, he had received them in their distress and had relieved their necessities. In return for all this, he said, his opponents had declared him a public enemy, and rased his house to the ground, and killed his friends, hardly suffering his wife and children to escape to him. But he would straightway appear before them and the whole city as a punisher of the guilty; to the other citizens, however, and to the newly-enfranchised Italians he announced that he blamed none of them for anything. When this was read, fear fell upon everyone, and ambassadors were despatched to reconcile him, if possible, with his political enemies, and to declare that if he wished for any security he should send at once to the Senate. And Cinna and his followers were instructed not to enlist soldiers till an answer had been received from Sulla. This they promised to do, but as soon as the ambassadors were gone, Cinna and Carbo at once declared themselves consuls for the following year, so as not to be compelled to return earlier to the city on account of the elections; and going about Italy they began to collect an army, which they proceeded to ship across in detachments to Liburnia, intending to set out from there to meet Sulla.

78. Now the first detachment got satisfactorily across, but the second was struck by a storm, and as many as reached the land at once began to make off to their homes, not wishing, if they could help it, to fight against citizens. And when the rest heard of this, they too began to refuse to cross any more to Liburnia.

Then Cinna grew vexed and called them together, intending to rebuke them; and they came in anger, meaning to resist him. And as one of the lictors was making way for Cinna, he struck one of those standing there; whereupon another of the soldiers struck the lictor. But when Cinna gave orders that he should be arrested, they all cried out and began to throw stones at him; while those who stood near also drew their daggers and stabbed him. Thus Cinna too lost his life while consul. Then Carbo sent to recall those troops that had crossed to Liburnia and, being terrified at the turn events were taking, did not go back to Rome, though the tribunes strenuously urged him to do so for the election of a colleague. But after they had threatened to deprive him of his office, at last he went up and named a day for electing a consul; this day however proved inauspicious, and he was intending to name another, when a thunderbolt fell upon the temples of Luna and Ceres, and the augurs postponed the elections till after the summer solstice, leaving Carbo sole consul.

79. In the meanwhile Sulla answered those who came to him from the Senate that he personally would never be friends with men who had committed such crimes, though he would not take it amiss if the city chose to grant them immunity; but as for security, he himself would furnish a better and a permanent one both for them and for those who had taken refuge with him, as he had an army which was well-disposed to him. By this one sentence he made it only too clear that he did not intend to disband his army, but was already purposing to assume absolute power. He further required of them that his rank, his property, his position as priest, and any other honours which he had happened to possess should all be restored to him intact; and the men who were to make these demands he sent to Rome with the ambassadors. But as soon as they were come to Brundisium, they heard that Cinna was dead and

that the city was without a responsible head, and so they returned to Sulla without accomplishing anything. Then Sulla, with five legions of the Italian army, and 6,000 cavalry, and some other troops from the Peloponnesus and Macedonia, in all 40,000 men, set sail from the Peiraeus to Patrae, and from Patrae to Brundisium in 1,600 ships. And the people of Brundisium received him without opposition, for which he afterwards gave them the immunity from taxation which they still enjoy : then he marshalled his army and led them forward.

80. Hereupon Caecilius Metellus Pius, who had been appointed a long time before to finish up the Social War, and had been in Liguria awaiting what would happen (for because of Marius and Cinna he had not entered Rome), came of his own accord to join Sulla with the forces under his command, being still pro-consul ; for the pro-consuls can retain their imperium till they return to Rome. And besides Metellus there came too Cn. Pompeius, shortly afterwards surnamed the Great, the son of the Pompeius who was killed by lightning, who had not been considered well-disposed to Sulla ; but the son dispelled these suspicions by bringing with him a legion, which he had raised in Picenum on the strength of his father's great reputation in that district. And soon afterwards he raised two legions more, and proved altogether of the utmost service to Sulla. Wherefore Sulla used to treat him with great respect, notwithstanding his extreme youth, being accustomed, as it is said, to rise from his seat whenever Pompeius came into his presence, an honour which he conferred on him alone. And when the war was being brought to an end, he sent him at last into Libya to drive out the friends of Carbo, and to restore to his kingdom Hiempsal, who had been expelled by the Numidians. For these achievements Sulla allowed him also to celebrate a triumph over the Numidians, notwithstanding his youth and the fact that he was still only an Eques ; and from this time forward

Pompeius was brought into great prominence, and was sent into Iberia against Sertorius, and afterwards into Pontus against Mithridates. And Cethagus too came to Sulla, notwithstanding the fact that he had shown himself one of his most violent opponents with Marius and Cinna, and had been exiled with them, approaching him as a suppliant and offering to serve him in any way he might please.

81. Sulla therefore, as he had now a large army and many supporters from among the nobility, made use of the latter as his subordinates and set out to advance, both he and Metellus being pro-consuls; for it was considered that as Sulla had been appointed pro-consul against Mithridates he had never ceased to hold that office, even though Cinna had declared him a public enemy. So he came on against his opponents in anger which, though concealed, was very severe, while those at Rome, rightly divining what his true character was, and having his former assault and capture of the city before their eyes, began to be filled with dismay, when they called to mind the votes they had passed against him and saw how his house had been rased to the ground, his property confiscated, his friends killed and his family hardly saved. Considering therefore that there was nothing left them but victory or utter destruction, they rose up with the consuls against Sulla in fear, and sending round throughout Italy endeavoured to collect troops and supplies and money, sparing nothing in the way of diligence or zeal, like men in extremities. And C. Norbanus and L. Scipio, the two consuls at that time, and with them Carbo, the consul of the previous year, who were as hostile to Sulla as the rest and even more afraid of him owing to their consciousness of guilt, began to collect as many troops as they could in the city, and, taking besides the force raised in Italy, set out to advance against Sulla in detachments, having in the first instance 200 cohorts of 500 men

apiece, and afterwards even more. For the general current of feeling was beginning to set very strongly in favour of the consuls, as the conduct of Sulla in advancing against his country seemed to be that of an enemy, while the action of the consuls, even though it was really on their own behalf, yet had the appearance of being patriotic. Besides, as the majority felt conscious of having shared in their crimes, they thought that they had reason to share in their fear, and therefore took sides with them, knowing well that Sulla did not mean simply to punish or correct or frighten his enemies, but meant to ruin and kill them and to confiscate their property, and to destroy them utterly. And in this opinion of theirs they were not mistaken: for the war destroyed everything, 10,000 and 20,000 men often falling in one battle, while in the engagement before Rome there fell on the two sides 50,000; and the survivors were maltreated by Sulla in every possible way, both as individuals and as members of their several cities, till he had shown himself to his heart's desire absolute master of the whole Roman dominion.

**83.** The Deity too seemed to wish to foretell to them that all this would happen in this war. For unreasoning panics kept falling upon many people, either singly or in large bodies, in various places throughout Italy, and men began to call to mind ancient prophecies which added still more to their fear; while among many other portents a mule bore young, and a pregnant woman brought forth a viper instead of a child. And Rome was visited by a violent earthquake which threw down several temples; and this is the kind of event which always greatly impresses the Romans: the Capitol too, which had been founded by the kings some 400 years before, was burnt down, and no one could discover the origin of the fire. Now all these things seemed to foretell the number of men that was to fall, the conquest of Italy and of the Romans themselves,

the capture of the city and the overthrow of the constitution.

**84.** This war then may be reckoned as beginning from the day on which Sulla arrived at Brundisium, in the first year of the 174th Olympiad; but its length, owing to the vast scale of its operations and the eagerness with which the two parties hurried against one another as personal enemies, was not as great as its importance would have led one to expect. But the very fact that all these misfortunes were crowded within so brief a space,\* caused them to fall upon the Romans with even greater severity than would otherwise have been the case. Yet the war lasted for three years in Italy itself, before Sulla finally succeeded in making himself absolute, while in Iberia it lasted on even after Sulla's death. Now many battles and skirmishes and sieges and all kinds of military operations took place between the opposing generals in Italy, whether with the whole or part of their forces, and all of these were important; but the greatest and most considerable of them were briefly the following.

The first engagement took place at Canusium between the pro-consuls and Norbanus, where the latter lost 6,000 men in killed and the former 70, while many were wounded on both sides; whereupon Norbanus retired

**85.** to Capua. And when Sulla and Metellus were at Teanum, they were met by L. Scipio with another army, which was greatly discouraged and anxious for peace to be concluded. As soon as Sulla and his followers saw this, they began to send ambassadors to Scipio to discuss terms, not however really expecting or wanting anything of the kind, for they thought that his army, being disheartened, would mutiny,—an opinion which was justified by the event. For Scipio took pledges for a parley and proceeded down into the plain, and three of each side came together; and this fact of the

\* *ἐπειγόμενα* (Mend.) fort. legendum.

meetings being in private made it impossible to know what was said, but it was supposed that Scipio postponed his decision, till he should have sent Sertorius to his colleague Norbanus, to acquaint him with the terms of the agreement; and both armies kept quiet, waiting for the answer. But Sertorius on the way seized Suessa, which had taken sides with Sulla, whereupon the latter sent and complained to Scipio, and he, either because he had been a party to what had happened, or because he was at a loss for an answer owing to the strangeness of Sertorius' behaviour, sent back the pledges to Sulla. Then straightway his army, considering the consuls to be to blame for the unreasonable capture of Suessa during truce and for the sending back of the pledges when they were not asked for, made a secret agreement with Sulla to go over to him if he would come near. So when he advanced, they all deserted in a body, so that the consul Scipio and his son Lucius, who being at a loss what to do stayed behind in their tent, were the only two of the army whom Sulla took prisoners. Now that Scipio should have been thus ignorant of the fact that his whole army had made such an agreement, seems to me to have been unworthy of a general.

**86.** Sulla dismissed Scipio and his son unhurt, after failing to persuade them to change sides, while he sent further ambassadors to Norbanus in Capua to discuss terms of peace, whether it was that he was afraid because the greater part of Italy still held with the consuls, or whether he was plotting the same against him as against Scipio. But when no one came to him even to bring an answer (for Norbanus, as it seems, was afraid lest similar disaffection should be spread in his army), Sulla broke up his camp and began to advance, laying waste the whole of the hostile country; and Norbanus too began to do the same by other roads. In the meantime Carbo hastened to the city and carried

a resolution declaring Metellus and all the other Senators who were with Sulla to be public enemies. It was at this time too that the Capitol was burnt down, and some tried to make out that it was the work of Carbo or of the consuls or of an emissary of Sulla's; but the truth was uncertain, and I cannot so much as conjecture what the cause of it can have been. But Sertorius, who had been chosen some time before to command in Iberia, after the capture of Suessa took flight to Iberia and, though the commanders already there would not recognise him, he too, in that country, stirred up many troubles for the Romans. Then while the consuls continued to receive reinforcements both from Italy, which still for the most part adhered to them, and from the contiguous districts of Gaul in the valley of the Eridanus, Sulla too was not idle, sending round as far as he could to the whole of Italy, getting men together by offers of friendship and threats and bribes and promises. So the rest of the summer was spent by the two parties in this way.

**87.** In the following year there were chosen as consuls Papirius Carbo, for the second time, and Marius, nephew of the celebrated Marius, who was then twenty-seven years old; but the extreme cold of the winter kept the opposing armies everywhere apart. As soon however as the spring began, a violent engagement, which lasted from dawn till midday, took place by the river Aesis between Metellus and Carinas, the general of Carbo; and Carinas was put to flight with heavy loss, while all the neighbouring districts went over from the consuls to Metellus. Then Metellus was met by Carbo, who surrounded him and managed to keep him in check till he heard that Marius, the other consul, had been defeated in a great battle at Praeneste; whereupon he began to retreat on Ariminum, harassed by Pompeius, who kept hanging on his rear. Now the defeat at Praeneste took place in the following manner. When

Sulla had captured Setia, Marius, who was encamped in the neighbourhood, fell back a little, but when he arrived at a place called the Sacred Harbour [Sacriportus], he proceeded to draw up his forces and eagerly offered battle. But when his left wing was beginning to give way, five cohorts of infantry and two divisions of cavalry, before the rout became general, flung away their standards simultaneously and went over to Sulla. This was the commencement of a disastrous defeat for Marius. For his whole army turned to flee into Praeneste, being cut down as they fled by Sulla, who followed at the charge. And the people of Praeneste admitted the first of them, but when Sulla was close at hand they shut the gates, drawing up Marius over the walls with cords. Hereupon there took place a further great slaughter about the walls, and Sulla took a number of captives, all the Samnites among whom he killed, declaring that they had always shown themselves hostile to the Romans.

**88.** About the same time Metellus too gained a victory over another army of Carbo's, and on that occasion also five cohorts went over to Metellus during the action. And Pompeius defeated Marcius at Sena and sacked the city. Then Sulla, having shut up Marius in Praeneste, blockaded the city by a line of entrenchments at a great distance from it, and placed Lucretius Ofella in command of them, intending now to subdue Marius by hunger and not by battle. Now Marius, despairing of safety, was anxious before his own fall to destroy his personal enemies, and so gave orders to Brutus the Praetor Urbanus to call together the Senate, as if for some other purpose, and then to kill P. Antistius, Pap. Carbo (a namesake of the other), L. Domitius, and Mucius Scaevola, the Pontifex Maximus at Rome. The two first of these were killed in the Senate as Marius had ordered, the assassins having been introduced into the Senate-house,

while Domitius on running out was killed near the door and Scaevola a little way in front of the Senate-house : and their bodies were thrown into the river ; for it was becoming the custom by this time not to bury the victims of these massacres. But Sulla in the meantime was sending round his army to Rome in detachments along various roads, with instructions to seize the gates, and, if driven back, to fall upon Ostia. And as they marched along, the cities on the road everywhere received them out of fear and, when they advanced upon Rome, the inhabitants there too opened the gates, being constrained by famine and being used by this time to suffer always increasing misfortunes.

89. As soon as Sulla heard of this, he came at once and stationed his army outside the gates in the Campus Martius, and himself entered the city, all his opponents having fled. Their property he at once confiscated and sold, and then called the people together to an assembly, at which, after deploreding the necessity of what he was then doing, he bade them take courage, saying that this would soon come to an end and that the constitution would be restored as it should be. Then, after settling what was immediately urgent and appointing some of his partisans to govern the city, he hastened out to Clusium, which from this time forward became the headquarters of the war. In the meantime the consuls were joined by a body of Celtiberian cavalry, which had been sent by the generals in Iberia, and a cavalry engagement took place at the river Glanis, in which Sulla killed about 50 of the enemy, while 270 of the Celtiberians deserted to him ; whereupon Carbo killed the rest of them, either out of vexation at the desertion of their fellow-countrymen or through fear of similar behaviour on their part. At the same time another portion of Sulla's army was victorious over the enemy at Saturnia, and Metellus, sailing round to Ravenna, occupied the district of Uria, which was a plain where corn was

grown. Others again of the partisans of Sulla, having through treachery gained admittance into Neapolis at night, killed everyone except a few who escaped, and captured the triremes of the city. And at Clusium there was a severe engagement between Carbo and Sulla himself, which lasted from morning till evening; and when neither side could gain any advantage, they 90. separated at nightfall. In the plain of Spoletium Pompeius and Crassus, two of Sulla's generals, killed some 3,000 of the followers of Carbo and began to besiege Carinas, the opposing general, till Carbo sent the latter reinforcements; but Sulla heard of this and waylaid them on their march, killing about 2,000 of them. Carinas however escaped one night when it was very dark and there was a violent rainstorm, the besiegers hearing some sounds but neglecting them owing to the storm. Then Carbo, hearing that his colleague Marius was suffering from famine, sent Marcius with eight legions to Praeneste to relieve him. But Pompeius fell upon them out of an ambush in a narrow place, and routed them with great slaughter, driving the survivors into a hill and blockading them there. From this position Marcius managed to escape by not extinguishing his watchfires, but his army, blaming him for having suffered them to be surprised, became very mutinous, and one legion marched off entire under its standards without orders to Ariminum, while the rest dispersed gradually to their homes, so that only seven cohorts remained with their leader. So Marcius after these misfortunes returned to Carbo, while M. Lamponius, Pontius Tele-sinus and Gutta, who were hastening with 70,000 men from Lucania, Samnium and Capua respectively, to relieve Marius, were met by Sulla in that narrow passage by which alone the town can be reached, and cut off from advancing. And Marius, giving up by this time the hope of being relieved from outside, set to work to erect a fort in the space between the two

armies, for they were separated by a considerable distance, and, bringing together there both warlike engines and troops, endeavoured to break through the lines of Lucretius. But after he had tried for many days with varying success, failing to accomplish anything, he was again shut up in Praeneste.

91. About the same time Carbo and Norbanus, while on the march, came upon the camp of Metellus at Faventia a little before evening; and though there was only one hour of daylight left, and the country was covered with vineyards, yet they foolishly, out of sheer ill-temper, proceeded to give battle, hoping to startle Metellus by their surprising behaviour. And being defeated owing to the unfavourable position and time of day, and falling into the vines, they suffered severely, losing some 10,000 in killed and about 6,000 in deserters, while the rest were dispersed, only 1,000 retiring in good order to Ariminum. Whereupon another legion of Lucanians, led by Albinovanus, having heard of this defeat, went over to Metellus, in spite of the opposition of their leader. He then, having failed to keep them from their determination, went back to Norbanus; but not many days afterwards, having had secret communications with Sulla and having been promised immunity if he should render any notable service, he proceeded to invite to a banquet Norbanus and his fellow-commanders C. Antipater and Flavius Fimbria, the brother of the one who had killed himself in Asia, and as many others of the generals of Carbo as were there at the time: and when every one came with the exception of Norbanus, Albinovanus had them all murdered during the meal and then escaped to Sulla. Then Norbanus, hearing that in consequence of this both Ariminum and many others of the neighbouring garrisons were going over to Sulla, and thinking, as a man in his difficult position would, that none of the friends who surrounded him were any

longer to be trusted, embarked in a private vessel and sailed over to Rhodes. And when Sulla subsequently demanded his surrender from there, while the Rhodians were still hesitating as to what to do, he proceeded to kill himself in the middle of the market-place.

92. Then Carbo sent Damasippus to lead two more legions against Praeneste, being especially anxious to remove Marius; but these were equally unable to force the narrow passage which was being held by Sulla. And the whole of Gaul from Ravenna to the Alps began to go over to Metellus in a body; while Lucullus gained a victory over another body of Carbo's troops at Placentia. When Carbo heard of this, though he had still 30,000 men at Clusium and the two legions under Damasippus and others under Carinas and Marcius, while the Samnites were in great force at the narrow passage, gladly suffering the severest hardships on his behalf, yet, despairing of everything, he weakly took to flight with his friends from Italy into Libya, while still consul, as if he expected to bring over Libya to his side rather than Italy. As for the troops that remained, those at Clusium fought a battle with Pompeius in which they lost as many as 20,000 men, while such of this army as was left, considering their defeat as final, dispersed gradually to their homes. Then Carinas, Marcius and Damasippus, with all the forces they had, advanced on the narrow passage, meaning to attack it in conjunction with the Samnites and to force it at all costs. But when even this attempt had failed, they made a dash at Rome, expecting to capture the city while still without either troops or supplies; and they pitched their camp at a distance of 100 stades from it in the Alban country. Thereupon Sulla, fearing for the city, sent forward the cavalry with all speed to harass them on their march, and, hastening on himself with his whole army, took up a position about midday at the Colline Gate by the

temple of Venus, the enemy being already encamped round the city. And they engaged at once, though it was late in the afternoon, and Sulla began to be victorious on the right wing, while the left wing, being worsted, fled towards the gate. But the old men who were on the walls, when they saw the enemy rushing in along with Sulla's men, shut the gate by mechanical means; and it in its fall killed many soldiers and many senators, while the rest were driven by fear to turn once more against the enemy. So they fought against them throughout the night, killing a large number of them, including their generals Telesinus and Albinus, and capturing their camps. But Lamponius the Lucanian and Marcius and Carinas and all the other generals of Carbo's faction that were with them escaped. The losses on the two sides in this engagement were estimated at 50,000 men; and Sulla took more than 8,000 prisoners, whom, as the majority of them were Samnites, he had shot down. And a day afterwards Marcius too and Carinas were captured and brought to him; but neither did he spare them as being Romans, but killed them both, and sent their heads to Praeneste for Lucretius to carry round the walls.

**94.** But the people of Praeneste, when they not only saw this but also heard that the whole of Carbo's army had been destroyed, and that both he and Norbanus\* had already fled from Italy, and that Sulla had completely subdued all Italy and Rome at its head, surrendered the city to Lucretius, Marius having hidden himself in an underground passage, where shortly afterwards he also killed himself. Then Lucretius cut off his head and sent it to Sulla; and when Sulla had set it up in the middle of the Forum before the rostra, he is said to have laughed at the youth of the consul and to have remarked, that a man ought to become a rower before he tried to hold the helm. Now when Lucretius took

\* *καὶ* addidi. Sin minus, *Καρβαντα* pro *Νωρβανδον* omnino legendum.

Praeneste, of the Senators who were there serving under Marius, some he killed at once, while others he cast into prison. But Sulla on his arrival killed these too, and then commanded all those in Praeneste to come out without arms into the plain. When they were thus come out, he set apart those who had ever done him any service (very few in all), while he bade the rest separate themselves into three divisions, Romans, Samnites and Praenestines. As soon as they were thus separated, he announced by a herald to the Romans that though they too had done things worthy of death, yet he pardoned them nevertheless; but all the rest he had shot down, though he allowed their wives and children to depart unhurt. And he plundered the city, which was then one of the wealthiest cities of Italy.

Thus then was Praeneste also taken: but Norba, another city, continued to hold out vigorously till Aem. Lepidus gained admission to it by night through treachery; whereupon, of the inhabitants, being enraged at this treachery, some killed themselves, others by consent one another, while others again strangled themselves with cords, and others proceeded to bolt their doors and set fire to their houses. And a violent wind which arose caused the flames to do such damage that no spoil was obtained from the city.

**95.** They therefore died thus bravely; but when the war in Italy had been ended by battle, fire and wholesale massacre, then the generals of Sulla advanced against the various cities and proceeded to put garrisons in those whose loyalty they suspected, while Pompeius was sent to Libya against Carbo and to Sicily against the partisans of Carbo who were there. But Sulla himself, having called together the Romans to an assembly, boasted greatly of what he had done, and among other terrifying threats told them that, as for the people, he would improve their condition, if they obeyed him, but that as for his enemies, he would not

fail to exact the extreme penalty from every one,—in fact, he would punish with the utmost rigour all those who, whether as praetors or quaestors or tribunes or in any other capacity, had in any way sided with his opponents against him, from the day that the consul Scipio had broken his agreement with him. No sooner had he said this, than he immediately proceeded to proscribe for death 40 Senators and of the Equites about 1,600. (For he seems to have been the first who posted up a list of the names of those whom he punished with death, adding to the list an offer of a reward to those who killed them, and a price to those who informed against them, and penalties for those who concealed them.) And soon afterwards he began to add more Senators to those already proscribed. So some of these were surprised and killed wherever they might be, in house, street or temple; and others were lifted up and carried and thrown before the feet of Sulla; while others were even dragged along the ground and trampled upon, without any of the bystanders daring so much as to raise their voices to protest against such outrages. Others again were banished, and others had their property confiscated. And pursuers hurried in every direction after those who had fled from the city, seeking everywhere for them and killing as many of them as they could find.

**96.** Many too of the Italians were killed or exiled or had their property confiscated,—all, in fact, who had served in any way under Carbo, or Norbanus, or Marius, or their generals. And throughout Italy there were rigorous investigations of these matters, and charges of all kinds were brought, whether of having commanded, or fought, or contributed money, or done any other service, or, in fact, entertained any designs against Sulla. Others again were charged with being the friends of the opposite party, or of having entertained them, or borrowed or lent money for them. Even the mere fact

of having done one of them a favour or of having been his travelling companion was in some cases urged as a crime. And such accusations used to be especially rife against the rich. But when the charges against individuals had ceased, then Sulla turned his attention to the cities, and proceeded to punish them too, in some cases rasing the citadels or destroying the walls or imposing indemnities or crushing them with heavy taxation : but in most of them he proceeded to plant colonies of his soldiers, so as to have garrisons throughout Italy ; and he would transfer their land and their houses to these men and distribute it among them. This made these colonists particularly devoted to him, even after his death ; for knowing that they would not keep their property safely unless all the measures of Sulla were safe, they supported these with all their might even after he was gone.

This then was what took place in Italy ; but Carbo went, in his efforts to escape, with many of the nobles from Libya to Sicily and from there to the island of Cossyra, where Pompeius sent and apprehended him. Now the rest he bade those that brought them kill without so much as leading them before him, but Carbo he had set by his feet in chains (though he had been three times consul), and then, after haranguing him, killed him and sent his head to Sulla.

97. Sulla then, when his enemies had been disposed of in every way as he wished and there was no longer any hostile force in the field, except that of Sertorius who was far away, sent out Metellus against the latter into Iberia, while he proceeded to arrange matters at Rome for himself just as he happened to please. And there was no longer any talk of law or voting or elections, for everyone was trembling with fear and hiding or keeping silence. Then whatever arrangements Sulla had made as consul or pro-consul, the people voted to be valid and binding ; and they set up before the rostra

an equestrian statute of him overlaid with gold and inscribed beneath it "Corn. Sulla Imperator Felix." For thus used his flatterers to call him, since he was always fortunate against his enemies; and this flattering epithet grew into a regular name. But I once came across a document somewhere which maintains that Sulla was described in this decree under the name of Epaphroditus. And this too seemed to me not improbable, since he used also to be surnamed Faustus, and this name may be held to have much the same meaning as Epaphroditus in the sense of "fortunate." There is extant also an oracle, given to him when he was enquiring the future, which would support this view.

"Believe me, Roman, Cypris in her care for the race of Aeneas gave them great power. But do thou pay a yearly revenue to all the immortals. Forget not this. Bring gifts to Delphi. And a certain (shrine) there is as thou goest up beneath snowy Taurus, where is a very lofty city of the Carians, in which they dwell, having named it after Aphrodite. There dedicate an axe and thou shalt obtain for thyself wide-spreading power."

But whichever name then the Romans decreed when putting up this statue, they must have added this inscription either in covert irony or in fulsome flattery. And he actually did send a golden crown and axe with the following dedication :

"This did I, Sulla the despot, dedicate to thee, Aphrodite . . . as I saw thee in a dream going about the host, fighting armed with the weapons of Ares."

**98.** So he was now in reality a king or tyrant, not by election but by virtue of force and violence; but since all the same he wished it to appear as if he had been elected, he arranged this too in the following manner. The Romans used originally to choose their kings according to merit; and when any one of them died, then the Senators used to rule in succession for five

days each, until the people should have approved some other man as king. And such a penthemeral ruler they used to call an interrex; for during this period of five days he would be equivalent to a king. The consuls again, when they retired from office, used always to arrange for the election of their successors; but if ever there happened to be no consul, then too this interrex was appointed, for the election of the consuls. Sulla then, taking advantage of this custom (for there were no consuls now that both Carbo and Marius had been killed, the one in Sicily, the other at Praeneste), went a little way from the city and commanded the Senate to choose the so-called interrex. So they accordingly chose Val. Flaccus, expecting that he would proceed to an election of consuls; but Sulla sent word to Flaccus that he was to announce to the people, that Sulla thought it expedient under existing circumstances for the city to be governed by a so-called dictator (a kind of magistrate that there had not been for four generations\*); and whosoever might be elected was not, he told them, to rule for any fixed time, but until he had succeeded in firmly re-establishing the city and Italy and the whole dominion, which had been so shaken by revolutions and wars. The general drift of all this inevitably suggested Sulla, and indeed there could not even be a doubt that he was meant; but Sulla had been so little able to restrain himself that he even went on to say at the end of the letter, that it seemed to him that in this too he himself would be best able to serve the city. Such then was Sulla's message; and the Romans, who by stress of circumstances were no longer voting according to law about anything nor so much as even believed that they had any share in the matter, yet, in their complete helplessness, welcomed this mockery of an election as at least an image and a pretence of freedom, and elected Sulla absolute monarch for as long a period

\* τεττάρων γενεῶν pro τετρακοσίων ἔτῶν Nauck.

as he might please. For the rule of the dictators had always been absolute, but originally it had been limited to a short period; now for the first time it was prolonged indefinitely, and thus became the exact counterpart of a Tyranny. This much however they added for the sake of appearances,—that they chose him dictator to pass such laws as he thought good and to restore the constitution. Thus then the Romans, after being ruled by kings for more than 60 Olympiads, and subsequently by a democracy, with a government by annually elected consuls, for another 100 Olympiads, now proceeded to give monarchy another trial. This was in the year of the 175th Olympiad in Greece, though there was no contest then at Olympia, except in the 600 yards foot-race: for Sulla had transferred the athletes and the other spectacles to Rome, to celebrate his wars against Mithridates or the Italians. The reason alleged for this was, that he wished to refresh and entertain the people after their labours.

**100.** Sulla then, to preserve the pretence of the ancient constitution, permitted an election of consuls, and M. Tullius and Corn. Dolabella were chosen; but he himself, being dictator, was like a king, and superior to the consuls. For twenty-four axes used to be borne in front of him as dictator, which was the same number as used to be carried before the ancient kings; and he surrounded himself with a numerous bodyguard. He used moreover to repeal laws and make others; and he would not allow anyone to be praetor who had not been quaestor, or consul who had not been praetor; and he prevented anyone's twice holding the same office without a ten years' interval between. And the tribunate he practically destroyed, depriving it of most of its powers and making it unlawful for a tribune to hold any further office; so that all who prided themselves on their eminence or their birth used thenceforward to abstain from this office. But I cannot say for certain whether it was Sulla who transferred it, as it now is, from the people

to the Senate. Then he added to the Senate itself, which owing to the revolutions and wars had been greatly reduced in numbers, a body of about 300 men elected from the best of the Equites, the tribes being allowed to vote in every case. And he granted liberty to the youngest and strongest of those slaves whose masters had been killed, and enrolled them, to the number of more than 10,000, among the people, declaring them to be Roman citizens and calling them Cornelii after himself, so that he might have 10,000 men of the lower orders ready to obey his commands. With a view moreover to strengthening his position throughout Italy in a similar manner, he distributed to the twenty-three legions that had fought for him a quantity of land among the cities, as I have said before, some of this being land which had never yet been distributed, while the rest he took away from the cities by way of punishment.

101. How violent and passionate was Sulla's temper on all occasions is shown by the following incident. When Q. Lucretius Ofella, who had captured Praeneste for him and forced the consul Marius to capitulate, and thus brought about his final victory, wished as a reward for his great achievements to become consul, while still an Eques and before he had been quaestor and praetor (as it had been possible according to the ancient custom to do), and began to canvass the citizens, Sulla tried to hinder him; but when, in spite of his representations, he could not persuade him to abandon his intention, he killed him in the middle of the Forum. Then he called together the people to an assembly and said, "Know, O citizens, and hear from me,\* that I killed Lucretius because he was disobeying me." And he told them a fable. "A countryman while ploughing was bitten by lice; twice indeed he took his hand from the plough and cleaned his shirt, but when he was bitten again, so as not to waste time often, he burnt the shirt. I too advise those who have

\* δὲ supervacaneum videtur, sed cf. Theocr. xxiii. 45.

twice been conquered not to make it necessary the third time to use fire." So thoroughly did he frighten them by these and similar actions, that he was able to rule exactly as he pleased. And he celebrated a triumph for the war with Mithridates. Now some used to laugh at him as a king who denied his power, because the name of king was the only royal quality which he did not assume. But others went to the other extreme, and, judging by the reality, used to call him a tyrant

**102.** who admitted that he was such. While this war was so eminently disastrous to the Romans themselves and to all the Italians, it was further disastrous to all the nations outside Italy, who were at one time warred upon by pirates or by Mithridates or by Sulla, at another exhausted by heavy taxation because of the emptiness of the treasury owing to the civil wars. For all the nations and all the allied kings, and not only those cities which were subject to taxation but even those that had submitted under special treaties and those that, owing to having assisted the Romans in war or done them some other service, were independent and exempt from tribute, were all at that time called upon to pay contributions and to become subject, while some were deprived of country or harbours which had been given to them by treaty.

Sulla further decreed that Alexander, son of Alexander, a former king of Egypt (who had been brought up at Cos, and surrendered by the people of Cos to Mithridates, but had escaped from Mithridates to Sulla and become a friend of his), should be king of the Alexandrians. For the kingdom of the Alexandrians was at this time without a male heir, and the women of the royal family required a husband who was related to them, and Sulla hoped to obtain large sums of money from so rich a kingdom. But when Alexander, reckoning perhaps on Sulla's support, began to rule more despotically than was usual at Alexandria, the people, after he had been king for only nineteen

days, led him out from the palace into the gymnasium and killed him there. So little fear had the Egyptians as yet for foreigners, owing to the greatness of their kingdom and to the fact that they had never hitherto suffered from external pressure.

**103.** In the following year Sulla, though he was dictator, yet, by way of a semblance and a pretence of democratic government, permitted himself to be chosen consul also (for the second time), together with Metellus Pius. This perhaps is the origin of the custom that even now the Roman Emperors, when they are naming consuls for the country, sometimes appoint themselves, considering it good to combine the consulship with the highest power.

In the next year therefore the people wished again, by way of flattery, to elect Sulla to the consulship, but he declined it and appointed as their consuls Servilius Isauricus and Claudius Pulcher, and shortly afterwards, without external pressure of any kind, of himself laid down his autocratic power. Now this seems to me not the least remarkable of Sulla's actions, that he should have laid down such great power under no compulsion,—the first and only time that such a thing had even been done,—and this too without giving it over, like Ptolemy in Egypt, or Ariobarzanes in Cappadocia, or Seleucus in Syria, to his children, but actually giving it back to the subjects over whom he had ruled despotically. And it is already wonderful enough that one who had striven so recklessly for the supreme power should, when he had gained it, have laid it down willingly; but what is really extraordinary and quite without parallel is that he should not have been afraid to do so, seeing that in this war he had destroyed more than 100,000 of the flower of Italy, and had killed or banished of his enemies 90 senators and 15 consuls and 2,600 Equites, confiscating their property and in many cases throwing out their dead bodies without burial. Yet he felt no fear, either of those in Rome or of the exiles or even

of the cities whose citadels and walls and land and wealth and privileges he had taken away, but dared  
**104.** to declare himself a private person. Such was the daring and such the good fortune of this man. And they even say that, on abandoning his power, he declared in the Forum that he was willing, if any should ask, to give an account of his actions, and thereupon threw down the fasces and the axes and dismissed his body-guard and walked for a long time, alone with his friends, among the crowd, who looked at him with amazement which was still not unmixed with awe. But as he was going home, at last a youth began to reproach him and, when no one prevented it, took courage even to follow him with abuse as far as his house. Sulla, however, who had been accustomed to display such violent passion against the greatest men and cities, bore with the youth good-humouredly, and only when he was entering his house, happening either from insight or by chance accurately to foretell the future, remarked, "This youth will prevent any other man who has power like mine from laying it down." And so it happened soon afterwards to the Romans, for C. Caesar did not give up his power in the same way. It seems to me that Sulla, who had shown himself to be in everything a man of strong desires which he was able to indulge, wished to see what it was like, after being a private person, to become an absolute ruler, and then to become a private person again, and finally to live a solitary life in the country. For he went away to a private estate at Cumae in Italy, and there in retirement spent his time in fishing and hunting,—not indeed that he was afraid to live in Rome as a private person, or that he was now again too weak to have carried out any further plans he might have conceived; for his age was still vigorous and his health good, and he had in Italy 120,000 men who had lately served under him and received large gifts and a quantity of land from him, while at Rome there were ready to do his bidding

the 10,000 Cornelii and all the rest of his party, who were well-disposed towards him and still an object of dread to their rivals, and who felt that their immunity for their share in what Sulla had done was dependent on his survival. But it seems to me that, being surfeited of war and surfeited of power and surfeited of city-life, he had at last come to conceive a love for the country.

105. No sooner was Sulla gone and the city freed from slaughter and tyranny, than the Romans began quietly once more to fan the flames of fresh civil dissensions. So there were appointed as their consuls Q. Catulus of Sulla's party and Aemilius Lepidus of the opposition, who hated one another extremely and immediately began to quarrel. And it was clear that some new trouble would arise from this.

Now Sulla, while in the country, thought that he saw a vision that the Deity was already calling for him. So, as soon as morning came, he communicated the vision to his friends and hastily wrote his will, finishing it on the same day, and when he had sealed it, about evening, he was seized with a fever and died in the night. He had lived sixty years, and seems to have been, as too his surname implied, in his death no less than in everything else the happiest of men,—if indeed one thinks that happiness consists in the gratification of every wish. Then at Rome there immediately arose a dissension about him, some wishing that his body should be carried in procession through Italy and should lie in state in the Forum at Rome and should have a public funeral, a suggestion which Lepidus and his party opposed. But Catulus and the party of Sulla prevailed, and the body of Sulla was carried through Italy to Rome on a couch of beaten gold and in royal state, and many trumpeters and horsemen and a further multitude followed close behind it armed. The soldiers too who had served under him hastened together armed from every side as the procession passed, and each one, as

soon as he arrived, joined immediately in the march ; and a further crowd of unparalleled dimensions hurried together. And there were carried before him the insignia and the axes which used to serve for his state 106. while he was still alive and dictator. But when he was brought to the city, there he was carried in with especially imposing ceremony. For more than two thousand golden crowns, which had been hurriedly made, were borne with him, the gifts of the cities and of the legions which had served under him and of each of his friends, while the magnificence of the other offerings sent for his funeral cannot be described. And through fear of the soldiers who had hastened together, the body was accompanied by all the priests and priestesses, each college singly, and by all the Senate and the Magistrates, wearing the insignia of their rank. Then there followed with further splendour the crowd of the Equites, and, in detachments, the whole of the army that had served under him ; for they had run together in haste, being all eager to take part in the ceremony, bringing, at their own expense, standards overlaid with gold and arms set in silver, such as are still in use at the present time in processions. There was present too an innumerable crowd of trumpeters, who took it in turns to play dirges of the most moving description. And there cried over him first the Senate and then, by detachments, the Equites, the army, and lastly the people, some of whom were really grieved at his death, while others were no less afraid of his army and his body now that he was dead than they had been when he was still alive. For looking at what was going on before their eyes, and remembering what the man had done, they were struck with terror, and were compelled to confess that he had proved himself to be most fortunate for their opponents, and even when dead most formidable to themselves. Then when he lay in state on the rostrum, where the public speeches are delivered in the Forum, his funeral oration was pronounced by the most eloquent man of

the time, since his son Faustus was still very young ; while strong men from among the Senators carried the bier and brought it over to the Campus Martius, where only kings were buried. And the Equites and the troops ran round his funeral pyre.

**107.** This then was the end of Sulla ; but the consuls already on the way back from the funeral began to quarrel and to abuse one another, while the populace began to take sides with the one or the other. And Lepidus, wishing to win over the Italians also, went about saying that he meant to give them back the land which Sulla had taken from them. The Senate then, fearing both parties, made them swear not to settle their differences by war ; but Lepidus, who had obtained the province of Transalpine Gaul, did not come up to Rome for the elections, purposing to fight with the Sullan party in the following year ; and this he could do without fear of infringing his oath, for both consuls thought that it was only to be binding during the year of their office. As soon as it was clear what he was intending to do, the Senate summoned him ; and as he too knew why he had been summoned, he came with his whole army, meaning to enter the city with it. But when he met with opposition, he sent heralds with a call to arms ; and Catulus on the other side began to do the same. Then Lepidus, after he had been defeated in a battle which took place between the consuls a little before the Campus Martius, did not make much further stand, but sailed across to Sardinia, where he fell into a decline and died. And his army, after a brief and partial resistance, dispersed, Perpenna leading the greater part of it into Iberia to Sertorius.

**108.** The remaining event in the history of Sulla is the war against Sertorius, which lasted for eight years and gave the Romans great trouble, since it was not against the Iberians themselves, but here too was of the nature of a civil war ; for it was waged against Sertorius, who had been chosen to govern Iberia, but had taken sides

with Carbo against Sulla and seized Suessa in time of truce and then fled away into his province. And as he had troops from Italy itself and had also raised some others from among the Celtiberians, he was able to drive out from Iberia his predecessors in the command (for they, to gain favour with Sulla, refused to surrender their authority to him); and afterwards, when Metellus was sent against him by Sulla, he proceeded to offer a vigorous resistance. He was famous for his audacity; and he chose a council of 300 from among the friends who surrounded him, and used to say that this was the Roman Senate, a name which he gave it out of mockery of that body. So after the death first of Sulla and then of Lepidus, when he had been reinforced by the Italian troops which Perpenna, the general of Lepidus, brought him, it was generally expected that he would invade Italy; and he would no doubt have done so, had not the Senate, fearing this very thing, sent fresh troops to Iberia, and an additional general in the person of Pompeius, who, though still young, was very celebrated for what he had done under Sulla both in

**109.** Libya and in Italy itself. Pompeius then went boldly up into the Alps, not by the celebrated route of Hannibal, but by another road which he himself made, near the sources of the Rhodanus and the Eridanus, two rivers which rise in the Alps at no great distance from one another, and flow, the former through the Celts on the further side of the Alps into the Tyrrhenian Sea, and the latter on this side of the Alps into the Ionian Sea, where it receives the new name of Padus instead of Eridanus. But as soon as he was come into Iberia, Sertorius cut to pieces a whole legion of his, while out foraging, with their baggage animals and camp followers, and sacked and destroyed the town of Lauro before the very eyes of Pompeius. Now at the capture of this place a woman with her fingers thrust out the eyes of a soldier who was offering her unnatural violence; and when Sertorius had heard of the inci-

dent he destroyed the whole cohort to which the man belonged (for they were notorious for such excesses), notwithstanding the fact that they were Romans.

110. Then, for the time being, as the winter was coming on, the two armies separated, but as soon as the spring began they came together again, Metellus and Pompeius from the Pyrenees, where they had spent the winter, and Sertorius and Perpenna from Lusitania; and they engaged at a town called Sucro. There, though a violent thunderstorm with exceptionally vivid lightning took place in a clear sky, yet, being experienced soldiers, they were not disturbed by it, but inflicted severe loss on one another, till Metellus routed Perpenna and plundered his camp, while Sertorius defeated Pompeius, the latter being dangerously wounded in the thigh with a spear. This brought the battle to a close. Now Sertorius had a white hind which was tame and was suffered to run loose; and when she had one day been lost, he considered it a bad omen for him, and grew moody and remained inactive, and this too notwithstanding the fact that he was taunted by the enemy about his hind. But when she was discovered running through a wood, Sertorius sprang up and immediately, as though under her guidance, began to throw out skirmishers against the enemy. Not long afterwards he fought a pitched battle at Saguntum, which lasted from midday till the stars began to shine. And he for his part defeated Pompeius in a cavalry engagement, and killed about 6,000 of his men, himself losing about half as many; while Metellus again defeated Perpenna with the loss of about 5,000 men. Then, on the day after the battle, Sertorius, having been reinforced by a number of the barbarians, made an unexpected attack towards evening on the camp of Metellus, thinking by a bold stroke to cut it off with a trench; but when Pompeius hastened up, he desisted from his daring attempt.

These then were the operations during this summer,

111. after which the opposing armies again separated to go into winter quarters. In the following year, which was the year of the 176th Olympiad, two countries were added by legacy to the Roman dominions, Bithynia by the bequest of Nicomedes and Cyrene by that of Ptolemy, surnamed Apion, of the dynasty of Lagus. And besides this war against Sertorius in Iberia, wars were also raging against Mithridates in the East and against the pirates all over the sea, while in Crete there was further trouble with the natives of the island; and lastly in Italy there was the war against the gladiators, which had broken out upon the Romans at once suddenly and with great violence. But notwithstanding these various embarrassments, they yet managed to send to Iberia a reinforcement of two legions; and with these, as well as with the whole of their original forces, Metellus and Pompeius marched down again from the Pyrenees to the Iberus, while Sertorius and Perpenna set out to meet them from Lusitania. Now just about this time a number of Sertorius' men began to desert to

112. Metellus, and Sertorius, being enraged at this, began to inflict many savage and barbarous punishments, and thus grew unpopular. But what his legionaries found still more blameworthy in him was the fact that he everywhere employed Celtiberians, even for his body-guard, instead of them, surrounding his person with these instead of with Romans, and keeping the latter at a distance. For they could not bear to be insulted by being suspected of treachery, even though they were serving under an enemy of Rome; and what was especially galling to them was just this very thing, that after they had become traitors to their country because of Sertorius, they should then be suspected of treachery by him; moreover, they did not think it right that they who had remained faithful should be judged unfairly because of the deserters. The Celtiberians too, taking advantage of their opportunity, used often to taunt them with their commander's lack of confidence. Yet they did not

entirely abandon Sertorius, because they could not do without him, for there was no man at that time more warlike or more fortunate than he. Wherefore the Celtiberians used, because of the rapidity of his movements, to call him Hannibal, whom they looked upon as the boldest and craftiest general who had ever been in their country. This then was the feeling in the army towards Sertorius; and the troops of Metellus kept making raids on many of the cities belonging to him and carrying off with them the inhabitants into the territory which was subject to them. And Pompeius began to lay siege to Pallantia; but when he had already fixed bundles of wood under the walls, Sertorius appeared and raised the siege, though Pompeius was able to burn the walls before beginning to retreat on Metellus. But Sertorius set to work to restore what had fallen down, and making a sudden attack on the troops encamped at a place called Calagyrum, killed 3,000. Such then were the events of this year too in Iberia.

**113.** In the following year the Roman generals became bolder, beginning fearlessly to attack the cities which were under Sertorius and to deprive him of much of his territory; and, encouraged by their fortune, they kept always attacking other positions. They did not however fight any pitched battle, but again [only occasional skirmishes took place\*] until in the following year the Romans again began to advance with even greater boldness, and Sertorius, his fortune beginning to turn, himself began to take less trouble about what he did, spending most of his time in debauchery, devoting himself to women and revels and drinking-bouts. Hence he began to sustain frequent defeats. He had, moreover, become very violent in temper, because of his various suspicions, and savagely ready to inflict punishments, and distrustful of everyone, so that even Perpenna, who after the revolt of Lepidus had of his own free will joined him with a large force, began to

\* Lacunam sign. Schweighäuser.

fear for his life, and, to anticipate Sertorius' intentions, plotted against him with ten accomplices. But when some of these had been betrayed and either punished or compelled to flee, Perpenna, who had strangely enough escaped discovery, became even more anxious to accomplish his purpose, and as Sertorius never dismissed his bodyguard, he invited him to a banquet at which, after making him and his guards drunk together, he proceeded to murder him while at table. Whereupon the army rose at once against Perpenna with great tumult, and full of indignation, their hatred of Sertorius being straightway changed to affection; for when men are dead, one is never angry with them any more, as their power of doing harm is passed, but one recurs to their virtues and recalls them with pity. When too they came to consider their actual situation, they became very hostile towards Perpenna (for they had been in the habit of despising him as a man of no real authority, and of thinking that only the genius of Sertorius could possibly save them); and this was not only the case with the Romans but also with the barbarians, and especially the Lusitanians, for Sertorius had shown himself especially friendly to them. But when the will of Sertorius was opened and Perpenna was found to have been nominated in it as heir, then the universal anger and hatred against him grew even greater, since he was looked upon now as having committed this crime not merely against his commanding officer but also against his friend and benefactor. And violent hands would even have been laid upon him, had he not hurried round among the leading men and persuaded some of them by bribes and promises and terrified others by threats, going so far as to execute some to strike terror into the rest. Then he resorted to the common soldiers and tried to curry favour with them, proceeding to release those of them who had been imprisoned by Sertorius and to give back their hostages to the Iberians. All this induced the army to acknow-

ledge him as their leader,—for he had previously been second in command under Sertorius,—though even then their feelings of hostility towards him did not cease; for, in addition to his other faults, he began, as soon as he had gained confidence, to show himself savagely ready to inflict punishments, and proceeded to kill three of the nobles who had escaped with him from Rome, as well as his own nephew.

115. Now when Metellus had marched to another part of Iberia, thinking that Pompeius alone would now find no difficulty in dealing with Perpenna, for several days the two latter engaged in skirmishes and reconnaissances, neither general bringing his whole force into action; but on the tenth day a decisive battle broke out between them. For they both wished to finish the war by a single action, seeing that Pompeius despised Perpenna as a general, while Perpenna thought that he would not for long keep his army faithful to him; and so he engaged with wellnigh the whole of his forces. But Pompeius quickly defeated him, as was natural, seeing that he was not an able commander and his army was not in the mood for fighting. And when they had all been put to utter rout, Perpenna hid beneath a clump of long grass, fearing his own soldiers more than the enemy; and there some horsemen captured him and began to drag him to Pompeius. Then all the way his own men kept abusing him as the murderer of Sertorius, while he kept crying out that he could tell Pompeius much about the parties at Rome. Now this he said, perhaps because it was true, perhaps merely so that he might be brought alive into Pompeius' presence. But Pompeius sent on a message and killed him before he had seen him, evidently fearing that he might divulge something unexpected and so become the cause of fresh troubles at Rome. And the behaviour of Pompeius in this matter was generally approved, and served no less than his other actions to bring him into good repute. This then was the end

of the war in Iberia, which may be said to have terminated with the life of Sertorius; for it does not seem probable that it would have been so quickly or easily brought to an end if he had survived.

**116.** Now there was at the same time in Italy, among the gladiators who were being trained for the games at Capua, a Thracian named Spartacus, who had served as a Roman soldier but had been taken captive and sold as a gladiator. This man persuaded some seventy of his fellow gladiators to risk their lives to gain their freedom rather than to provide a spectacle at the games, and, after with their assistance overpowering the guards, broke out, armed his followers with staves and daggers taken from travellers, and fled up into Mt. Vesuvius. There he was reinforced by a number of runaway slaves and some free men from the country, and began to plunder the neighbourhood, having as his lieutenants the gladiators Oenomaus and Crixus. And, as he was in the habit of distributing equally the booty which he took, he quickly gained a number of followers, so that when first Varinius Glaber and afterwards Publius Valerius were sent out against him, they were both defeated in battle. For they did not bring a regular army, but hastily collected anyone they could, while on the march, inasmuch as the Romans had not yet come to look upon the affair as a war, but were still regarding it merely as a kind of raid by brigands. And Spartacus even captured the horse of Varinius, so near did the Roman praetor come to being taken prisoner by a gladiator. After this still larger numbers kept flocking together to join Spartacus, till he had under him an army of 70,000 men; and he began to forge weapons and to collect war-material,

**117.** while the Romans decided to send out the consuls against him with two legions. Then one of these defeated Crixus with 30,000 men at Mt. Garganus, and killed him and two-thirds of his army. And Spartacus, who was hurrying through the Apennines to reach

the Alps and to cross them into the country of the Celts, was cut off from his flight by the one consul, while the other began to press on his rear; but he fell upon and defeated each in turn. They then after this began to retreat in confusion, while Spartacus, having killed 300 Roman prisoners as a sacrifice to the shade of Crixus, hurried on with 120,000 infantry against Rome, first burning all the weapons which were unserviceable and killing all the prisoners and slaughtering the baggage-animals so as to be able to move quickly; and of the many deserters who wished to join him he refused to receive any. But when the consuls again opposed him in Picenum, a second pitched battle took place there and the Romans were again utterly defeated. Spartacus however abandoned his intention of marching on Rome, thinking that his forces had not yet been made sufficiently powerful, as he was not even able to furnish the whole of his army with proper weapons; for no city was siding with him, but his followers consisted of slaves and deserters and rabble of all sorts. So he seized the hill-country of Thurii and the city itself, and would not allow the merchants to bring any gold or silver into it or his own men to possess any; but they began to spend large sums in buying bronze and iron, and never did any wrong to those who imported these metals. Having thus obtained abundance of material, they armed themselves well and made frequent plundering raids. And they fought another pitched battle with the Romans, and defeated them yet again, and returned laden with much booty.

118. Thus this war, which had at first been laughed at and despised as being against gladiators, had already lasted three years and was a cause of fear to the Romans; while when it grew time to elect new praetors, everyone began to hesitate and no one would come forward, till Lic. Crassus, who was famous at Rome for his high birth and wealth, accepted the office, and marched out against Spartacus with six new legions. As soon as

he was come to the scene of action, he also took over the two belonging to the consuls; and these he immediately made cast lots for death, as they had been so often defeated, and decimated them. Others however relate this otherwise, and say that he too fought a battle with the whole of his army, and after being defeated chose by lot the tenth part of the whole body and killed as many as 4,000, not hesitating in the least, notwithstanding the largeness of the number. But whichever he did, he showed his troops that he himself was more to be feared than a defeat by the enemy. So after this he at once gained a victory over a body of 10,000 of Spartacus' men who were encamping in a place by themselves and killed two-thirds of them, and then started out boldly against Spartacus himself. And he defeated him too in a brilliant fashion and set out to pursue him as he fled to the sea with the intention of crossing into Sicily, and proceeded to cut off his retreat by trenches and walls and palisades.

119. And when Spartacus made a sortie to try and force a way into Samnium, Crassus killed some 6,000 of his men in the morning and as many again in the evening, while the loss of the Roman troops was but three killed and seven wounded; so great and sudden had been the effect of their punishment in giving them that courage which brings victory. But Spartacus, who was waiting for some reinforcements of cavalry which were to come to him from somewhere, no longer went out to battle with his whole army, but began to harass the besiegers in many ways with detachments of it, making frequent sudden sorties against them, throwing lighted faggots into their trenches and generally making their operations difficult for them. And he crucified a Roman captive in the space between the two armies, to show his men a specimen of what would happen to them if they were conquered. When the Romans in the city heard of the siege, thinking that it would be disgraceful if a war against gladiators were to last much

longer they decided to appoint Pompeius, who had just returned from Iberia, as joint-commander for the campaign, believing that the operations against Spartacus would still cause them great difficulty. Now the result of this appointment was that on the one hand Crassus became very anxious to attack Spartacus, so that Pompeius might not get the credit of the war, while on the other Spartacus, wishing to anticipate the arrival of Pompeius, endeavoured to make terms with Crassus. But when the latter would have nothing to do with him, he determined to bring matters to a crisis and, as his cavalry had by this time arrived, he broke with all his forces through the lines and fled towards Brundisium with Crassus pursuing him. When however he heard that Lucullus was at Brundisium on his return from his victory over Mithridates, he gave up all hope, and engaged Crassus with an army which was still of formidable size. And after a long and stubborn battle had been fought, as was natural when so many thousands of desperate men were engaged, Spartacus was wounded in the thigh with a spear; but falling on one knee and throwing his shield before him, he fought to the last against those who attacked him, till both he and a great number who had rallied round him had fallen. The rest of his army, which had already been thrown into disorder, was cut to pieces wholesale, so that an incalculable number of them perished, while the Roman loss amounted to a thousand; and the corpse of Spartacus could not be found. But yet a considerable number escaped from the battle and took up a position in the mountains; whereupon Crassus set out against them too. They then, separating into four divisions, continued to resist till they were all destroyed, except 6,000, who were taken captive and crucified along the entire length of the road from Capua to Rome.

Now Crassus, by accomplishing all this in six months, at once gained a reputation wellnigh equal to that of

Pompeius; and he did not disband his army, since Pompeius had not done so. Shortly afterwards both became candidates for the consulship, Crassus having been praetor according to the law of Sulla, while Pompeius had been neither praetor nor quaestor, and was only thirty-four years old. The latter too had promised the tribunes that they would restore their position to much of its original dignity. But, even when they had been elected consuls, they did not disband their armies but kept them near Rome, making the following excuses: Pompeius, that he must wait for the return of Metellus to celebrate his triumph over the Iberians; Crassus, that it was necessary for Pompeius to disband first. So the people, recognising that a new civil war was imminent, and being afraid of these two armies encamped close to the city, begged the consuls as they were sitting in the Forum to become reconciled to one another. At first both seemed inclined to refuse; but when, too, certain soothsayers prophesied many great disasters unless the consuls became reconciled, then the people began to cry out and to entreat them with the utmost humility, for they still remembered the troubles of Sulla and Marius. Crassus was the first to give way, and, coming down from his seat, began to go towards Pompeius, offering him his hand as a sign of reconciliation; whereupon the latter rose up and started towards him. No sooner had they shaken hands than they were applauded from every side, and the people would not leave the assembly till the consuls had decreed the disbanding of their armies. So the quarrel between these two, which seemed as if it would lead, like the others, to serious disturbances, was satisfactorily settled. This portion then of the civil war had lasted about sixty years, reckoning from the murder of Tib. Gracchus.

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